FORMATION AND END OF A MUGHAL PROVINCIAL CIVILIZATION: A SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL HISTORY OF AWADH 1748-1856

THESIS

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Abstract

The rise and growth of regional states had been at the centre-stage of the political developments in the eighteenth century. The states developed distinct cultural character, evolving specific and unique forms of economic and political system and regional system of rule. The process through which these regional polities passed from the status of Mughal provinces into complete autonomy forms an interesting area of study. My study of the state of Awadh attempts to re-examine some of the issues already examined by the modern scholars, within a relatively indigenous forms of reference.

Certain indigenous sources, in Persian and Urdu, that had been neglected or not utilized fully are examined afresh and in details. Most studies on the post-annexation Awadh tend to rely exclusively on the English sources. Though not as extensive as the English sources, contemporary writings in the Urdu language exist. *Tilism*, an Urdu weekly started after the annexation of Awadh is a valuable source for the period and is studied in depth.

The study undertakes to look into the process through which the resources of the region were channelised in the formative stages in asserting the autonomy. The governors of Awadh consolidated their rule, built a solid base for an autonomous state and progressively assumed independence. At the same time, the state tried to build up its distinct regional identity through

varied means. The inclusion of indigenous social groups in the ruling class was important in this regard.

Having dealt with the challenges subedari such as that by the jagirdars and *madad-i-maash* grantees, the nawabs tried to win over the local support. They gave up the policy of resuming the land grants. The nawabs firmly dealt with the rebellious zamindars and their influence counterbalanced by promoting non-Rajput elements in refractory Rajput zamindaris. But where these measures were not effective, the rebellious zamindars were incorporated and pacified with specific concessions. The local ruling classes gave their support to the new regime on account of the career opportunities now available with the indigenous rule.

The important aspects of agrarian economy; agricultural produce and productivity, price of agricultural production, land revenue demand, incidence of rent, and its relationship with the agrarian classes that led to the growth of different tenures in the region are examined. The resource base of the region got expanded with political and economic stability in the region. We find agriculture in flourishing state in the eighteenth century visible through the reports of extraordinary fertility of soil in Awadh. But from early nineteenth century we keep hearing a general complaint about diminishing productivity perhaps on account of exhaustion of soil or lack of the improvement in methods of cultivation and irrigation. It is however important to note that the land revenue witnessed increase in the Awadh

throughout the nawabi rule along with an increase in the area under cultivation which might just be related to a greater efficiency on the part of the state in realizing the agrarian surplus as clear expansion in agricultural production is not quite evident.

The ascendance of the English company in Awadh and its consequent implications on the revenue administration, allowed the agrarian classes to appropriate revenue resources. The attempts of Saadat Ali Khan, despite constraints of the treaty of 1801, to strengthen his grip over the taluqdars, could not arrest the appropriation of land by these classes and enlargement of their holdings especially in the period after him. The process intensified giving way to the growth of interspersed proprietary rights that shaped the nature of different tenures in the region. The most important feature of course was that of the growth of *talluqdari* tenure in the period. The landholders consolidated their position once again and re-establish their autonomous centres of local authority.

We find the income of intermediaries rising in the nineteenth century. The incidence of the rent witnessed an increase of 100 per cent after the reign of Saadat Khan (from 1814 onwards). Besides, the decline in agricultural yield and increase in price increased the burden on the cultivators. Moreover the ruinous impact of the *ijara* system on the cultivators throughout the nawabi period is well known. The condition of the peasantry deteriorated owing to the rise in prices. The prices of

commodities witnessed a continuous upward trend in the nawabi period which affected the revenue paying capacity of peasantry; they losing land to big landlords.

The growth of trade and commerce has been discussed with its impact on the trading communities and their relationship with the state and the adjustments in relations in face of British competition have been examined. In the study of state and urban classes, the policies of the state towards the merchants, traders, *mahajans*, *baniyas*, and their relationship with the state are examined. Eighteenth century Awadh witnessed growth in trade and commerce and a prosperous mercantile community was seen participating in political matters for privileges of trade. With the British accession of the territories and important trading marts like Benaras and Farrukhabad taken by the British, the trade and commerce of Awadh certainly was adversely affected. In the nineteenth century there appears considerable decline in the exports and an increased inflow of British goods to Awadh. However, the local demand sustained the trade and commerce though on a limited scale, providing avenues for the circulation of merchants' capital. Merchants diverted their capital towards agrarian sector in acquiring land and advancing loans to the *zamindars*.

Besides, the impact of annexation of Awadh on different social groups is examined. *Tilism*, an Urdu weekly started soon after annexation becomes an important source for the study. It brings out the general

environment of nostalgia for the previous regime; annexation creating psychological trauma not only for the courtly elites but the population in general. It brings out the impact on agrarian economy and the dispossession of the class of taluqdars with much detestation. Annexation had been particularly heavy on the peasants. The new regime introduced a number of changes, for instance changes in the city plan that proposed demolition of some of the prominent buildings and mosques, which created strong resentment against the British regime. The new system of taxation was resented and resisted by the mercantile community.

The chapter on socio-economic life of Awadh brings out the distinctive elements of Awadh culture. In order to build its distinctive regional identity, it borrowed a lot from the indigenous traditions. Awadh court appears quite inclusive of local and low class men who went together with the Awadh state's assertion on autonomy. The social mobility in the period is evident. It was important for the court to build up traditions of shared cultural forms and an inclusive cultural environment that wielded together the diverse sections at the court and at the same time proclaimed its distinct regional identity. The elaboration of the Shiite rituals in the formation of court culture is considered but one could see that the Shiite-Sunni conflict had been overplayed by scholars, while we actually find considerable cultural sharing between people. The shifts in proprietary rights and patronage to the newer elements in the nawabi period also had

bearing for the traditional elite. We find from time to time assertions of the displaced older classes; their ability to forge joint combats the shared culture was not necessarily without tensions and conflict and always fully harmonious.

The inclusiveness of culture is also visible by the spaces provided to women. Women appear crucial in the syncretic life and integrative practices of the region. There appears a lot of social interaction between men and women. Women wielded influence not only over domestic matters but over the public affairs. Women contributed in the literary and cultural sphere; the *tazkiras* of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries mentioning quite a few women poets of those times. These were either the aristocratic women who despite purdah made their presence felt in the literary domain by men and the other were public women whose profession gave them ample opportunity for creative pursuits. Besides the spaces and patronage to women performers appear phenomenal. The high class courtesans were regarded as preservers and performers of high culture. The tremendous influence and power they wielded explains their participation in the revolt of 1857. No wonder the British action against them was severe.

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This is to certify that the thesis 'The Formation and End of a Mughal Provincial Civilization: A Socio-Economic and Cultural History of Awadh 1748-1856' by Sk. Ehtesham Uddin Ahmad is the original research work of the candidate, and is suitable for submission to the examiners and for the award of the Ph.D. degree.

23 Sept. 2008

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The study of the autonomous state of Awadh in the eighteenth century and its annexation by the British has been well-covered in its historiography. The politico- economic dimensions of the indigenous regime leading to the annexation has been taken up. The cultural history of Awadh similarly has attracted the attention of historians. However, my study of the state of Awadh attempts to re-examine some of the issues already examined by the modern scholars, within a relatively indigenous frame of reference.

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The disintegration of Mughal Empire, rise and growth of the regional states and the gradual expansion of the British on the political map of India were the most important developments of the eighteenth century. Though the regional kingdoms that emerged have been studied, the primary theme in the historiography of eighteenth century had been an enquiry into the subject of 'decline and decadence' that set with the fall of the Mughal Empire. The formation of the 'succession states', like Awadh, were traditionally seen as acts of selfishness and political ambitions of the decadent nobility of an already weakened Empire. The Empire that had grown to its utmost physical limits, spreading to almost the entire subcontinent was seen as incapable to hold the authority of the central administration. A series of challenges to the Mughal authority corroded the base of imperial power, visible on a number of fronts, leading to the decline of the Mughal Empire[1].

Awadh was one of the important succession states to have emerged in the wake of the Mughal decline. In one of the significant study of the state, Richard Barnett finds Awadh emerging into prominence on the strength of

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[1] Decline theories discussed in great detail by Barnett in his introduction. Richard Barnett, *Northern India Between Empires Awadh, the Mughals, and the British 1720-1801*, London, 1980, pp. 1-15.

its economic, strategic, demographic and cultural assets.[2] The state grew in expanse to almost double its size from the time of its formation, comprising of territories with Himalayas in the north and Ganges as its southern boundary, extending even beyond it (in 1748) and Itawah and Benaras-Ghazipur being its western and eastern limits in the eighteenth century. It attained great economic and military power, and began to develop its own identity. He however looks at the political formation at Awadh, only against the backdrop of imperial decentralization.

Muzaffar Alam's major study on Awadh in his *Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India*, speaks of the chaos and anarchy in some regions that might have been symptomatic with the 'breaches and chasms' in the imperial edifice but 'an emerging political order tended to be constituted in the form of virtually independent principalities, which nevertheless continued broadly with the Mughal institutional framework'. His work on Awadh challenges the concept of decline. Both Punjab and Awadh, according to him, witnessed unmistakable economic growth in the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century, he had covered. In

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2 Ibid, p.2

Awadh especially the governor could mobilize local social groups around his banner and thus was able to place nawabi rule on firm ground[3].

The Eighteenth century has interested a number of scholars from the vantage point of the formation of British Empire. It had been claimed that the technical efficiency and commercial expansion by the British produced devastating irruptions into the Empire.[4] C.A. Bayly speaks of range of intermediate entities that were cajoled, enticed and manipulated by the incoming colonial power and European traders.[5] 'British conquest often meant no more than slow drift to the East India Company of soldiers, merchants and administrators, leaving the Indian rulers with nothing more than a husk of royal grandeur'. This appears in line with the arguments of scholars who have tried to emphasize the role of 'indigenous banking firms', merchants and bankers in the political formation of eighteenth century, who were seen redirecting their economic and political support from the Empire towards nascent regional polities and rulers, including the British East India

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3 Muzaffar Alam, *The Crisis of Empire In Mughal North India Awadh and the Punjab, 1707-48*, Delhi 1986, pp.1-12.

4 Marshal G.S. Hodgson, The Venture of Islam, vol. III: The Gunpowder Empires and Modern Times, reprint 1977, pp.134-222.

5 C A Bayly, *Rulers Townsmen and Bazaars North Indian Society In The Age Of British Expansion, 1770-1870*, Cambidge 1983, p. 6.

Company.[6] The success of regional states on the debris of Mughal Empire is seen mainly in terms of alignment of these classes with the British for the opportunities provided of the prosperous trade and commerce.

A major concern for historians studying Awadh has been the impact of the British. The gradual expansion of British East India Company in the second half of eighteenth century in Awadh has also been examined by Barnett who is otherwise primarily looking at the process of transition of an imperial province to sovereign state and then to a subsidiary ally of the British. He has looked into the manner in which the regime managed to postpone major territorial losses until the turn of the nineteenth century. However his account ends at 1801, the year Awadh became a subsidiary ally of British, ceding large parts of its territory in order to discharge his tributary obligations.

The final annexation of Awadh in 1856, provided one of the main grievances of the people in the region fuelling the great rebellion. T R Metcalf studies the changes in the structure and functioning of rural society owing to British policies. He examines the first revenue settlement, 'the Summary Settlement of 1856-7 of the region and the revolt in so far as it

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6 Karen Leonard, 'The "Great Firm" Theory of the Decline of the Mughal Empire', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 21, No. 2, April 1979, pp. 161-7.

affected the British policy towards the taluqdars and the latter's subsequent history[7]. Rudrangshu Mukherjee makes a path breaking study of the revolt of 1857, looking in its popular character certain commonality of interest and mutual dependence between the taluqdars and the peasants, in-built in the structure of rural society that was disrupted by the revenue prescription of the British[8].

Veena Talwar Oldenburg, looks at the strategic policies of British after the revolt to restore them back to power in *The Making of Colonial Lucknow 1856-77*[9]. The British had redesigned the city to make it safe, orderly, clean and loyal etc.

Most of the works on Awadh focus on the political developments and the economic changes to a relative neglect of other aspects of development in the region. A few scholars have indeed covered aspects of the culture of Awadh. . Michel Fisher's work looks at the cultural formation in Awadh and

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[7] T R Metcalf, *Land Landlords and British Raj Northern India in the Nineteenth century*, Delhi, 1979.

[8] Rurangshu Mukherjee, *Awadh in Revolt 1857-58 A Study of Popular Resistance*, Delhi, 1984,

[9] Veena Talwar Oldenburg, *The Making of Colonial Lucknow 1856-77*, OUP, 2005.

refers to the consolidation of Shi'a *asabiya*[10]. J R I Cole in his work, *The Roots of Northern Shi'ism in Iran and Iraq: Religion and State in Awadh, 1722-1859* similarly discusses Shi'ism in Awadh and the roots of conflicts between Shi'i and Sunni[11]. However, the Awadh culture also had integrative and inclusive components and spaces as well that have not received the attention they deserve.

My study of the state of Awadh attempts to re-examine some of the issues already examined by the modern scholars, within a relatively indigenous forms of reference. I have, in my work, made use of several indigenous sources, in particular those in Urdu and Persian,that have largely been neglected by the historians of the history of Awadh. Most studies on the post-annexation Awadh tend to rely exclusively on the English sources, and one of the consequences of this is the loss of the indigenous perspective on the developments of the period. Though not as extensive as the English sources, contemporary writings in the indigenous languages do exist. *Tilism*, an Urdu weekly[12] started after the annexation of Awadh is a valuable source

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10 Michel H Fisher, *A Clash of Culture, Awadh, The British, and The* Mughals,Delhi 1987.

11 J R I Cole, *The Roots of Northern Shi'ism in Iran and Iraq: Religion and State in Awadh, 1722-1859*, Delhi 1989.

12 The editor and publisher of *Tilism*, Muhammad Yaqub belonged to the well-known theological house of Firangi Mahal in Lucknow. Forty two issues of

for the period and needs an in depth study. Though the Urdu newspapers have been studied by Iqbal Hussain and Anjum Taban Farooqui, certain important aspects of annexation evaded their attention[13].

My study re-examines some of the central issues in the history of Awadh, on the basis of the evidence found in the Urdu and Persian sources of the period. The corpus of English sources, abundant for the period, is examined but is cross-checked with the indigenous accounts of the period as well.

The study attempts to examine the process through which the resources of the region were channalised in the formative stages to create a viable, autonomous state. The important aspects of agrarian economy; agricultural produce and productivity, price of agricultural production and its trade are covered. A chapter explores the land revenue demand, incidence

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the *Tilism*, beginning from 25 July 1856 and ending with 8 May 1857, with one issue (No. 37) missing, are preserved at the Centre of Advanced Study Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.

13 Iqbal Husain, 'Awadh on the eve of 1857: Evidence of Urdu Newspaper', Indian History Congress, Patiala, 1998; Anjum Taban Farooqi, 'The Coming of the Revolt in Awadh: The Evidence of Urdu News papers' *Social Scientist*, Vol.26, nos.1-4, Jan-April 1998, pp.16-24; William Dalrymple, *The Last Mughal: The Fall of a Dynasty*, Delhi, 1857 (Penguin/Viking 2006).

of rent, and its relationship with the agrarian classes that led to growth of different tenures in the region. The growth of trade and commerce has been discussed with its impact of trading communities and their relationship with the state. The impact of the British and the adjustments of the state and commercial classes in the face of British competition have been discussed. In study of the state and urban classes, the policies of the state towards the merchants, traders, *mahajans*, *baniyas*, and their relationship with the state are examined which appears crucial for the sustenance of urban centers in Awadh. The chapter on the cultural formation in Awadh speaks of the different dimensions of the distinctive regional identity of Awadh; the various components of the culture, its class-base and social composition. It examines the nature of the conflict between groups, traditional aristocracy and new emerging social classes etc. and the role of culture here. The spaces provided to women in Awadh culture are studied. Lastly, the impact of annexation on different social groups is examined.

CHAPTER I

DEVELOPMENT OF AWADH AS A REGIONAL STATE

During the Mughal period, the *suba* of Awadh comprised of five *sarkars*, Awadh, Gorakhpur, Bahraich, Khairabad, and Lucknow; and thirty-eight *parganas*[1]. *Ain-i-*Akbari describes the *suba*: "Its length from the *sarkar* of Gorakhpur to Kanauj is 135 kos. Its breadth from the northern mountains to Sidhpur on the frontier of the *suba* of Allahabad is 115 kos. To the east is Bihar; to the north, the mountains; to the south, Manikpur, and to the west Kanauj....Its principal streams are the *saru* (Sarju), the *Ghaghar* (Gogra), the *sai* and the *Godi* (Gumti)"[2].

At the outset of the eighteenth century the *suba* was still not much sought after by Mughal nobles, and they accepted the charge of the *suba* with reluctance. When Burhan-ul-Mulk[3] was asked to march towards

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1 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i- Akbari*, tr. Colonel H S Jarrett, Delhi, 1978, Vol. II, p. 184.

2 *Ibid*, p. 181.

3 Muhammad Shah bestowed on him this title in 1723, earlier he was adorned with the title of Saadat Khan in 1720. His father a *qazi* in the declining Safavid Empire, migrated to Hindustan in 1707, settled in Patna under the patronage of Murshid Quli Khan. After the death of his father, he went to Delhi to seek a position at the Mughal court. Saiyad Ghulam Ali Khan *Imad-*

Awadh and take over the *subedari* of the province, he was not given personal audience of the Emperor; the new appointment was perhaps a punishment for his failures in the *suba* of Agra. He, however, was able to deal with the challenges of his new *subedari* and successfully carved a viable state in Awadh. He and his successors firmly dealt with the challenges and having secured the resources, made the *suba* a relatively prosperous place to govern. The appointment of Safar Jang to the post of *wazir* (1748)[4] indicated the growing influence Awadh had on the Mughal court. The first two Nawabs of Awadh laid the foundation of an autonomous regional state, independent of the Mughal imperial court.

From the early eighteenth century the control of the central authority over the governors declined. The governors, in the early eighteenth century, started combining governorship of Awadh with the *faujdaris* of the Awadh, and also of the adjoining areas. The post of governor was at times decided to keep a powerful noble away from the centre. The local connections and influence were also other considerations in the appointments. The appointments of Sarbuland Khan and Chabila Ram with additional privileges was not simply on account of their closeness to the emperor

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us-Saadat, Lucknow, 1864, pp. 5, 30; A L Shrivastav, *First two Nawabs Of Awadh*, Agra, 1954, pp. 20, 35.

4 *Two Nawabs*, p. 123.

Farukh Siyar, but also owing to the formers's connections with the shaikhzadas of the Awadh, and the latter's influence in the province[5].

Gradually, the governors of Awadh acquired control over the post of *diwani* and *faujdari* as well. The governors of Awadh tended to control the *faujdari* either through its direct acquisition or through an appointment of their clients to the office. The governors used their control over *faujdaris* to restore stability and orderliness in their province. Moreover, the governor's control over the office of the *diwan* strengthened his position and allowed him to retain firm control over the distribution of resources and *jagirs* in the province.

The administration of *jagirs* in Awadh also changed during the period. The *jagirdars* had been using their assignments to wield considerable power in the region. The administration of *jagirs* was largely under the control of the provincial *diwan*, but the political stability required for the realization of revenues depended on an efficient and effective governorship. However, with the weakening of Imperial authority, the governor could deal with the *jagirdars* on his own terms.

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5 In early November 1707 Chin Qlich Khan (later Nizam-ul-Mulk) combined his governorship of Awadh with a number of *faujdaris* in the province and the *faujdari* of Jaunpur which lay on the borders of Allahabad province. Cf. M Alam, op.cit, pp.58-65.

Burhan-ul-Mulk, and his successor Safdar Jang, introduced a number of changes in the *jagir* administration. The governors sold the *jagirs* to *jagirdars* on a contractual basis. Further, as a rule no *tankhawah jagir* could be made without the signature and seal of either the Emperor or the governor. The nawabs achieved considerable success in marginalizing the interference of *jagir* holders in the province and their manipulations in the central imperial politics. The governor and the *diwan* together commanded a superior position in the province, so long as the revenues of Awadh remained predominantly in *jagirs* of the *mansabdars*[6]. The office of the *faujdar* was also reformed during the period. At the level of *sarkar*, the *faujdars* were replaced by *naibs* or *nazims* whose powers included the executive, military and fiscal matters. *Faujdari* was thus brought within the fold of provincial administration under the control of governor. The powers of the *madad-i-mash* grantees were also reduced with the resumption of many of these grants. The policy was, however, later abandoned by Safdar Jang who wanted to gain local support.

Burhan-ul-Mulk firmly dealt with the rebellious *zamindars* with a definite policy which was followed by his successors. The *zamindars* were cowed down not only with the might of the army but their influences were also counterbalanced by promoting non-Rajput elements in refractory

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[6] Ibid, pp. 72-73.

Rajput *zamindaris*. Where these measures were not effective, the rebellious *zamindars* were incorporated and pacified with specific concessions[7].

The nawab, through all these measures, was able to substantially increase the *jama* of the region in his possession[8]. A firm resource base enabled the first two nawabs to increase their territorial possessions. By the time of Safdar Jang, it was extended to Kora Jahanabad, Allahabad, Benaras, Jaunpur, Ghazipur, and Chunargarh[9] and was checked only later on with the intervention of British East India Company.

For the restoration of peace and order in the region and stability of the revenue system, the support of the local elites was indispensable. The opposition of the Shaikhzadas, associates of Saiyyad Brothers, against Burhan-ul-Mulk was understandable, as he was one of the benefactors of the conspiracy against Saiyyads. But the Shaikhzadas of Kakori played a crucial role in winning over the opposing Shaikhzadas, which subsequently, even made the Saiyyids staunch supporters of nawabs' rule. Later, Burhan-ul-Mulk and his successor Safdar Jang took special care to nurture their support. The Sheikhs and Saiyyads of Bilgram fought for Burhan-ul-Mulk in the battle of Karnal and also against the Bangash Afghans (in 1751). The

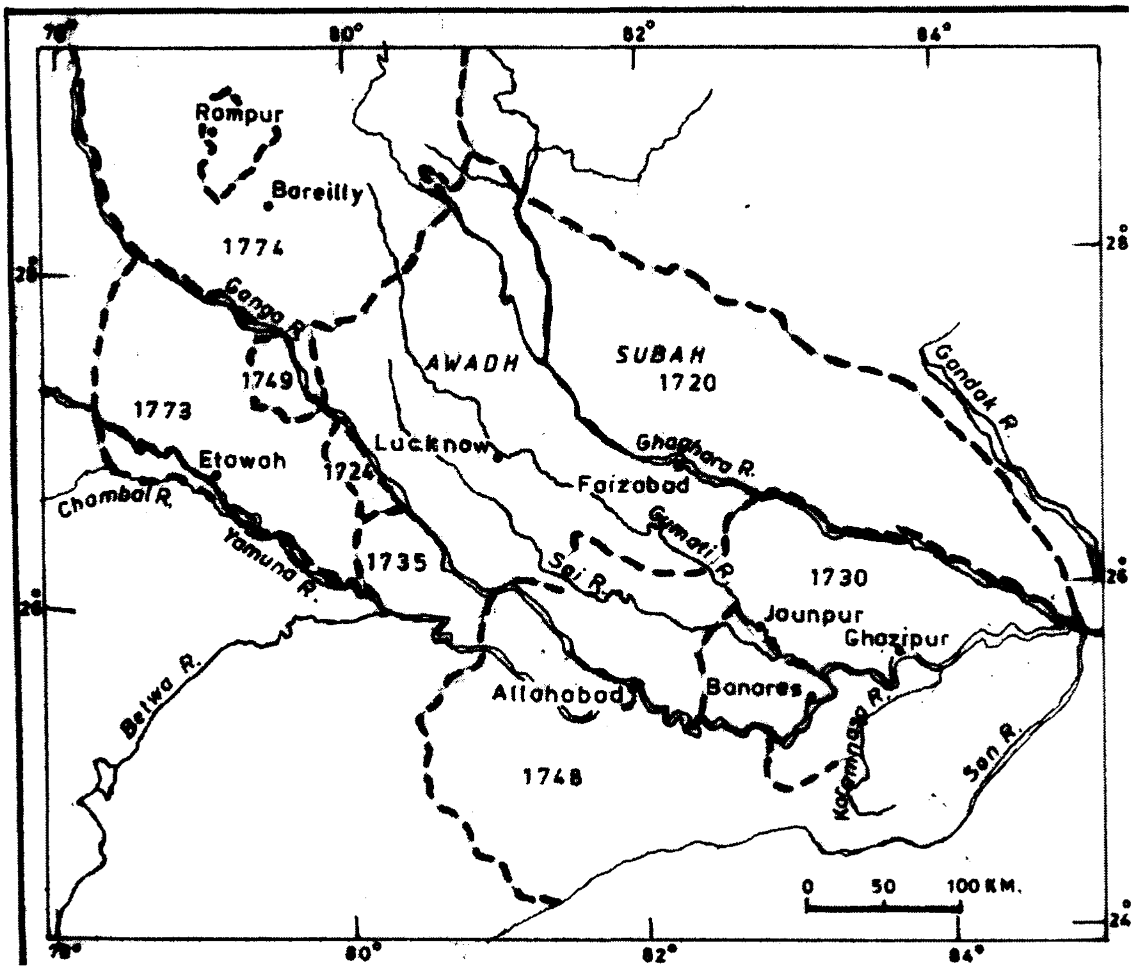
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7 Ibid., pp. 212-219.

8 Ibid., pp. 252-3.

9 Barnett, op.cit, pp.27-8.

Map 1*



Awadh during Expansion, 1720-1774

* Cf. Barnett, p.24.

local support thus saved the regime in exigencies[10]. Moreover any revolt against the regime was considered disgraceful[11]. Their support and loyalty became very crucial for the Safdar Jang.[12] It was perhaps in this background that Safdar Jang departed from the earlier policy of resuming *madad-i-mash* grants.

The support of the local elite for the regime was also quite important for it. The decline of the imperial authority resulted in a scarcity of career opportunities. For the local elites the possible alternate avenues could be secured only through the indigenous regime. This possibly explains the defiance of the imperial order by the ruling classes of the *suba* for the confiscation of the property of Safdar Jang following his defeat by Afghan[13]. The threats from Maratha's incursions in the region and their extortions from the Mughal Emperor also concerned the local ruling class and they rallied their support to the regime. Burhan-ul-Mulk and Safdar Jang thereby successfully forestalled any Maratha encroachments in the

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10 M Alam, p. 234.

11 An armed resistance by a Sheikh *zamindar* in Amethi, in the wake of the disturbances that followed the invasion of Nadir Shah, was characterized by a chronicler as a disgraceful act of ingratitude. Ibid, p. 233.

12 Ibid, pp. 233-34.

13 Ibid, p. 234.

region. This not only saved the *subedari* but also made the ruling class secure from major readjustments that might have come with the Maratha conquest.

The absorption of local elements in the provincial administration was preferred by Burhan-ul-Mulk and Safdar Jang but their employment was confined to the secondary levels. The bulk of the central army was still commanded by the Mughals, Qizibash (the Iranian Turks), Turanian Turks, Kashmiris, and Gosains who had no local roots[14]. The army and administration of Burhan-ul-Mulk also employed a large number of Hindus. In all probability, the Hindu elements serving the army and administration of the regime might have local origin and the incorporation of them in the provincial army and administration must have been actuated by the same motives that governed the inclusion of other elements. It was only during the reign of Shuja-ud-Daula and onwards that the local recruits were preferred.

With the local support, therefore, the nawabs tried to carve out an autonomous state, distinct in many aspects. The marks of imperial authority like the confirmation of appointments, appointments of subordinates, paying formal tributes *nazar*, reading *khutba* and minting coins in the name of Emperor; were respected by the early nawabs. But the imperial authority

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[14] *Two Nawabs*, p. 243.

was appropriated by the nawabs on two important aspects. First, the right to nominate their successor in provincial government and the other, to have independent relations with the neighboring provinces. These nawabs and their successors frequently received titles, robe of honor and *khilats*, but Burhan-ul-Mulk nominated his heir in the *subedari*, a right which was retained by the successive nawabs. Both Burhan-ul-Mulk and Safdar Jang maintained an independent relationship with the Marathas and neighboring provincial governors[15].

The role played by Burhan-ul-Mulk during Ahmad Shah Abdali's attack and his independent negotiations emphasized his autonomous existence and his unsubordinated relations with the Mughal Emperor. He extended his support to Abdali in protest when he was denied the post of *mir bakhshi*[16]. His successor Safdar Jang continued to be the *subedar* along with the fresh royal insignia of *wazir* in 1748, legitimizing the nawab's assumed autonomous status[17].

The autonomy of Awadh was compromised with the ascendance of the English Company. Shuja-ud-Daula and Asaf-ud-Daula had to share the resources of the province with the British, surrendering their military

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15 Barnett, p. 30.

16 Ibid, pp. 31-33.

17 *Two Nawab*, pp. 123-24.

control, foreign policy and opening up territory to British trade. Shuja-ud-Daula continued to maintain internal administration with strong centralization. Asaf-ud-Daula, however, transferred not only the rights of administration to the British, but also allowed territorial outsourcing for meeting out the British outstanding payments and subsidies to the troops. This 'decentralization' had a far-reaching implication on the overall revenue administration of the province, allowing agrarian classes to appropriate revenue resources through concealment of revenue details. The arrangement did not realize the repayment of outstanding British liabilities, but disrupted the resource base of the regime. The failure gave reasons to the British to demand territories in perpetuity with administrative control, leading to the cession of half of the nawab's territory in 1801, as a pre condition for the accession of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan. As per the arrangement of 1801, the number of the Nawab's own troops was limited, the British took over the defense of his territories against all foreign and domestic enemies, a detachment of British troops, with a proportion of artillery, remaining at all times attached to him[18].

The loss of political and financial powers with the state had grave consequences for the state's relations with the agrarian classes. Saadat Ali

[18] *The Bengal and Agra Annual Guide And Gazetteer for 184*, (third edition, Calcutta), vol. II, part. II, p. 149

Khan, despite the constraints of the treaty of 1801, did try to reorganize the revenue administration and strengthen his grip over the *zamindars* and *rajas*.. He revalued and separately assessed the lands of each village, did away with the *inams* so lavishly bestowed by his predecessors, and deprived the old chieftains, so far as possible, of their *nankar* allowances as well as their privileged position as intermediaries. With the continuous supervision and vigilance efficiency and fairness was secured during his reign. In certain cases he also extended concessions to these chieftains, respecting their local connections and influences, and seeking their assistance in revenue collection[19]. The appropriation of land of the landed class was intensified, enlarged holdings giving way to *talluqdari* tenure, during the chaotic and fragmented administrative control of his successors. The inability of Ghazi-ud-Din Haider, and his successors down to Wajid Ali Shah, to assert power and authority in the region, allowed the landholders to consolidate their position once again, and re-establish their autonomous centres of local authority.

The land revenue system that evolved during the nawabi rule is marked with different stages. The predominant *ijara* system supplied the added requirement of the revenue demand more or less uninterruptedly from the reign of Burhan-ul-Mulk up to the reign of Shuja-ud-Daula.

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[19] Metcalf, op.cit, pp. 23-24.

Besides, the *amani* system also continued but on a limited scale. Asaf-ud-Daula however witnessed difficulty in the revenue administration owing to the British meddling with the collection of revenues but the *ijara* system continued to be the mainstay of the revenue collection system.

Basic structure and unit of administration were also altered as the territorial possession varied from Burhan-ul-Mulk down to Saadat Khan. By the time of Shuja-ud-Daula the domain of nawab consisted of four *subahs,* out of which the two *subahs* of Awadh and Allahabad were divided into *sarkars* which was further divided into *parganas* or *chaklas*. The in-charge of the revenue collection in the *sarkar* was *amil* and at the *pargana* level *tahsildar* was entrusted with the responsibility of revenue administration, while the other two *subahs* were headed by the *faujdar* with the responsibility of revenue collection with full control over the *amils* and their appointments[20].

After the cession of territories in 1801, Saadat Khan divided the territories left with him into smaller units called *chakla* and placed them under the charge of *chakladars*, who were responsible for the collection of revenue and maintenance of law and order. The *chaklas*, some twelve in number, were then incorporated in the four *nizamat* of Khairabad, Gonda-

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20 AL Shrivastava, *Shuja-ud-Daula*, 1765-1775, Agra, 1974, vol. II, pp. 289-90.

Bahraich, Faizabad-Sultanpur, and Baiswara. The *nazim* was in-charge of *nizamat*, who exercised a general supervision over the government and deployed the military force, which often included artillery English-officered sepoys, posted in his jurisdiction. The *chakla* was divided into *parganas*, remained under the charge of *chaudhries* or *tahsildars*, who, together with *qanungo*, made the actual assessment in the villages and collected the revenue from them[21].

The *ijara* system received greater application since the time of Saadat Khan. The *ijaradari* system ensured the regular supply of revenue, and also provided encouragement to the cultivation when ijaradars were closely supervised and retained in contract for longer period. But after the reign of Saadat Khan the system became exploitative and ruinous for the cultivators, as the successive rulers, either were incapable, or, if capable, the circumstance did not allow them to check the *ijaradars* and exercise control over them. The period also witnessed a frequent change of hands, denying the *ijaradars* the opportunity of a long term assignment. The anomalies which crept into the system were vehemently criticized by the British, who unceasingly argued in favor of switching over to *amani* system. The *amani* system too was not devoid of anomalies as the *amils* who received the fixed salary had enough scope to manipulate the

21 C A Elliot, *Chronicles Of Oonao*, Allahabad, 1862, pp. 131-32.

assessment in favor of the landlords[22] and were therefore equally ruinous and exploitative.

Another system that appeared more attractive but in actual practice was more cumbersome and labor intensive was the *huzur tahsil*. Under this system the revenue management was entrusted to the head of the proprietary body of each village. Free from all interferences of the district authorities, the village head took the security of assessment and paid directly to the treasury. The system required the dealing with a number of *zamindars* and, therefore, was cumbersome for the government. Moreover, it was also not taken willingly by most *zamindars*[23].

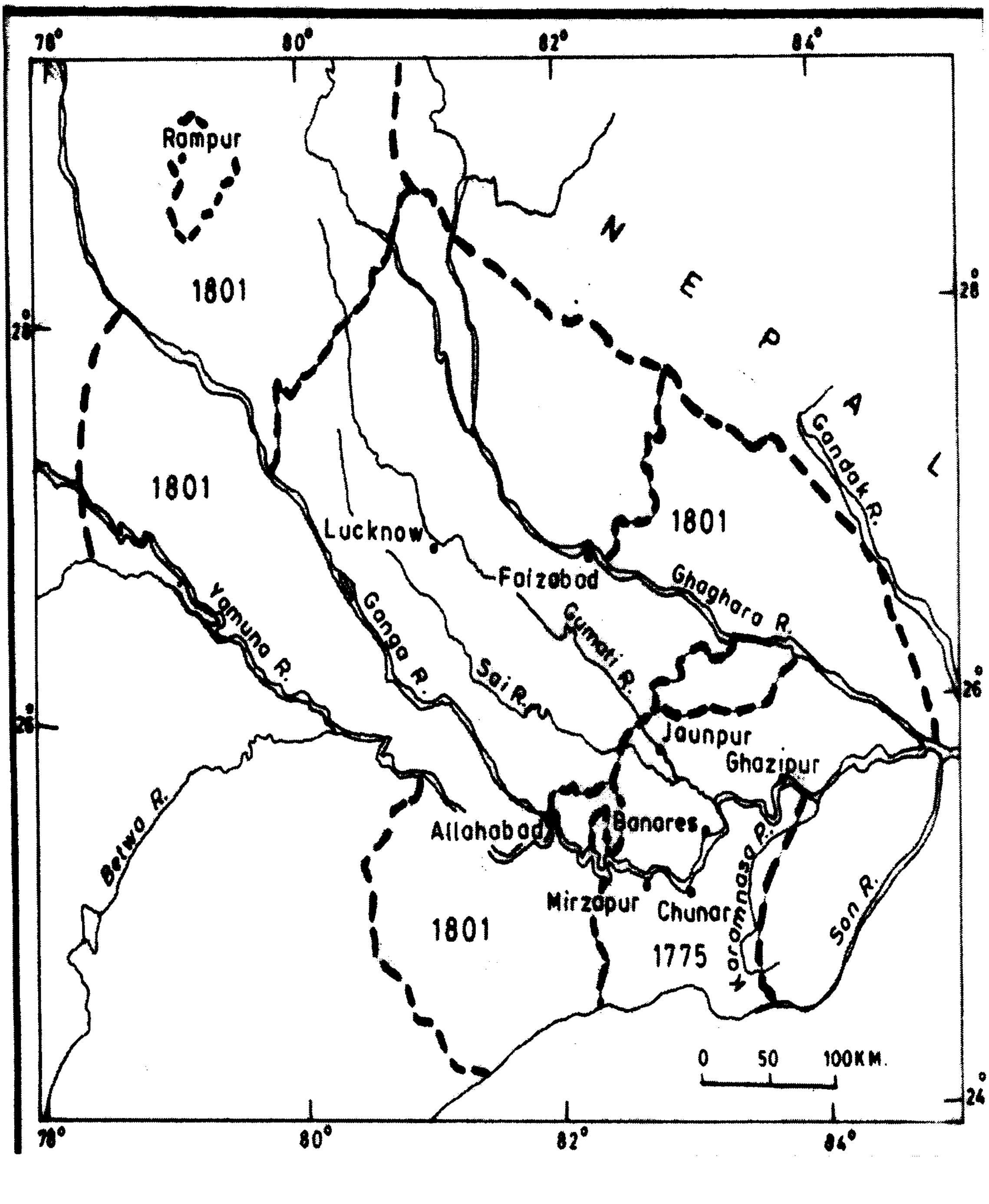
The governors of Awadh consolidated their position through diverse means. They maintained the outward signs of subservience to the Mughal Emperor, but exercised complete command of power and authority in the region. The governors of Awadh incorporated new elements in the governance and introduced changes in the administration as per their requirements, best suited for the regime. They had to deal with the British supremacy after the battle of Buxar, and the state was annexed to British Empire in 1856.

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22 Metcalf, pp. 26-27.

23 Ibid, pp. 25-26.

Map 2*



Territorial Cessions, 1775-1801

Cf. Barnett, p.108.

Chapter II

Agricultural Production and Trade

Awadh was one of the *sarkar* located in the heartland of the Empire with rich alluvial soil; fertile and productive. Irfan Habib has argued that the extent of cultivation increased by a hundred percent of the total cultivable land in the region of Allahabad, Awadh, Bihar, and parts of Bengal from 1595 to 1909-10[1]. He is supported by Shireen Moosvi in her quantitative study of Mughal economy[2]. Muzaffar Alam, on the other hand, has conducted a specific study of the Mughal region of Awadh and Punjab; and in case of the former, argues that the eighteenth century was a period of economic growth, owing to the extension of agriculture, which is indicated by the increase in *jama* (see below).

Concerning the *Nawabi* period, the evidence is scarce. The first detailed recording of figures took place only after the annexation, when British conducted detailed measurements and surveys. These reports, in some cases, also record the fiscal history of the concerned region, and

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1 Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India 1556*-1707, Oxford, 1999, pp. 21-22.

2 Shireen Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire c.1595 A Statistical Study*, Delhi, 1987, pp. 50-51.

therefore may be of use as a source for the study of economic trends. These records do not lie within the period under study (the regular settlement and survey starting only after 1861-62), they might in some ways be still useful to understand the state of agriculture during the *Nawabi* period. The other problem for the study lies in the fact that the boundaries of Awadh as a *sarkar* of Mughal empire underwent frequent changes and could attain relative stability only after 1801, when the Nawab had to share half of the revenues of his province with the British.

Muzaffar Alam, who compared the available revenue figures of the mid eighteenth century with those of the late sixteenth century (found in *Ain-i-Akbari*), has shown a significant rise in the *jama* from 1595 to 1755. In Awadh, the *jama* rose by over 85 per cent, the maximum, 267.37 per cent, being in *sarkar* Gorakhpur, followed by 116.14 per cent in *sarkar* Khairabad, 82.66 per cent in *sarkar* Lucknow, 55.16 per cent in *sarkar* Bahraich and 43.40 per cent in *sarkar* Awadh[3]. In the Benaras region, the rise was over 107 per cent (from 1595 to 1720), in *sarkar* Kora (on the southern borders of Awadh) it was by over 134 per cent (from 1595 to 1720) and in the Rohilla country (in the Moradabad-Bareilly region) the rise was, incredibly, over 247 per cent (from 1595 to 1750). This spectacular rise in *jama* had definitely a bearing on the increase in

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3 M.Alam, p. 103.

agricultural production, according to him [4]. He further argues that the *hasil* figures, taken as the revenues collected by the state officials, also register a similar increase suggesting that the *hasil* was following the *jama* in suggesting an expansion in cultivation.

The area under cultivation in Awadh is similarly worked out in detail. Irfan Habib holds that the area-wise extension of cultivation in the region of Awadh increased by about a hundred percent in the period *c. 1595* and *c. 1910*[5]. Even if the data on measured cultivable area is not available for the Nawabi period, the available records on measured area provided by the first survey and settlement, conducted by the British after the annexation, become important as these were close to the Nawabi period.

The part of the Awadh that was ceded to the British in 1801, forming the North West Province, underwent a thorough measurement and assessment soon after the secession. In this region, according to the census of 1853 the general average of the percentage of cultivated area to total area was 53.0 per cent[6].In the other half, the revenue surveys and *Khasrah*

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4 Ibid, pp. 252-254.

5 *Agrarian System,* pp. 21-23.

6 'Minute by the hon'ble the Lieutenant-Govrnor, North Western Provinces, on the subject of making the settlement of the land revenue in the North Western Provinces, permanent', Dated Nayneetal, the 27th May, 1862,

surveys started from1862-63 onwards. Since the readjustment of boundaries took place only in 1869, we can have the total area of Awadh given in these settlement reports as almost the same as in pre- annexation period. The percentage ascertained, according to the first regular settlement, for the area of cultivation in the province of Awadh to the total area was 54.55 per cent[7]. The following table 2.1 gives the percentage of the cultivation to the total area in some of the districts of Awadh:

Table 2.1:

Serial no.	Name of the district	Percentage of cultivation to total area
1.	Sultanpur[8]	50
2.	Partabgarh[9]	53.4
3.	Lucknow[10]	54.4

Correspondence Regarding the Permanent Settlement of the N W Province(1862), p. 17.

7 A F Millett, *Report of the Settlement of the Land Revenue of the Sultanpur District 1873*, Section-II, Para-383.

8 Ibid,

9 'Proceeding of the Officiating Chief Commissioner of Oudh, in the Revenue Department (No 3937, dated 2 Nov. 1876)', para-7, W E orbes, Settlement Report of Partapgarh 1877.

10 H H Butts, Settlement Report of Lucknow District, 1873, Part II, para-15.

4.	Rai Bareli[11]	49.5
5.	Bahraich[12]	47
6.	Fyzabad[13]	56.23

If we compare cultivable land in the province of Awadh in 1869 with that of 1909-10, it comes to around 80 per cent of e latter[14].

Looking at the productivity of soil and the general soil conditions during the eighteenth century, we find the soil in Awadh to be extraordinarily fertile. This has been brought out by the accounts of European observers. Northern Rohilkhand, the central districts of Awadh around Lucknow and Fyzabad and the alluvial tracts along river Ganges between Chunar and Benaras down towards Buxar, were noted by Europeans in the eighteenth century as some of the most fertile and populated parts of the whole subcontinent. The Benaras region was exceptionally rich and, in terms of productivity, was seen as equal to contemporary Bengal. Cultivation in central and southern Awadh could be resumed without much capital as soil was moderately light and fertile, and

11 J F Macandrew, Settlement Report of Rai Bareli 1872, para-120 (p. 67).

12 *Gazzetteer o the Province Oudh, Delhi, 1877-8*, vol.I, p. 198

13 Ibid, p. 405.

14 *Agricultural Statistics of India 1913-14*, Calcutta 1916, vol. I, p. 46.

water table was not so low as to make the cost of irrigation prohibitive. In Benaras region, good natural irrigation was also available for watering the *rabi* crops while parts of the Moradabad-Bareilly region profited splendidly from spring torrent[15].

In spite of these natural advantages to the agriculture, the method of agriculture appears to be more or less on the traditional pattern (see table 2.2 for implements). The irrigational devices were not advanced ones like the Persian wheel. It was not in vogue[16]. Water was lifted from the bank through leathern bag and rope with the help of wooden weighty pulley. In the high banks of the rivers, towards the eastern parts of Awadh, zigzag channels were occasionally cut into which the water was raised by series of baskets at different heights. The well-irrigation was also common but its use was declining in the region during the nineteenth century as it was becoming more expensive[17].

In the region of Awadh the manuring of soil was mainly done through the traditional method of using bio-wastes. However. in the nineteenth century Donald Butter complains that it needs a lot of

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15 M Alam, p. 254.

16 Donald Butter, *Topography and Statistics of Southern Districts of Awadh*, Delhi, 1839, reprint 1982, pp. 67-68

17 Ibid, pp. 66-68.

improvement and 'the fertility of soil could be augmented, by deep ploughing and plentiful manuring, with scientific compost'[18].

However, the cropping pattern impressed contemporary observers as the most remarkable feature of the agriculture in the region. The rotation of crops- harvesting of two and in some cases three crops in the year- were also practiced in the region of Awadh.

The implements of agriculture being traditional were also not expensive. The following table 2.2 lists the type of implements and their cost[19]:

Table 2.2:

Serial No.	Type of Implements		Cost Rs.	As.	Ps.
1.	Plough (Har)		0	2	0
2.	Iron Ploughshare (P'har)		0	8	0
3.	Hoe or Pick-axe (Kudar)		0	8	0
4.	Broad Hoe (P'harua)		1	0	0
5.	Heavy Plank (Serawan)		0	2	0
6.	Yoke for Serawan and plough		0	2	0
7.	Leathern Bag (Pur or Garra)	(a)	1	8	0
		(b)	1	0	0

18 Ibid, p. 63.

19 *Ibid*, pp. 62-63.

8.	Rope (one *man* of *sahan*)	0	12	0
9.	Basket (Dogla)	0	0	2

There seems to have occurred no improvement or up-gradation of the implements when compared to the Mughal period, which was 'far from primitive when judged by the standards of the day'[20]. The introduction of new implements and improvement required investment. The peasants were hard pressed by the revenue demand, and any improvement in the method of production was therefore beyond their capacity.

A wide range of food-crops was produced in Awadh during *rabi* and *kharif* season. Butter provides a list of eight *rabi* and thirteen *kharif* crops with other details. Wheat, rice, gram, maize (makai) and a variety of pulses were important food crops grown in the province of Awadh (see table 2.3). Butter informs that Oat was not produced in Awadh. The food-crops produced in Awadh in 1600 were the same as those produced towards the close of the nineteenth century except maize [21]. S. Moosvi, who has made a detailed comparison of the yield-table (*rai*) in the *A'in* with the data on yields of various crops in the Delhi-Doab region during the latter half of the nineteenth century, concludes that there was little change in the yields of

20 *Agrarian System, opcit* p. 26.

21 Ibid, p. 43.

food-crops[22]. This accords with Moreland's earlier finding, based on the *A'in's* prices and assessment rates of different crops in the provinces of Awadh, Agra and Delhi, that the values of produce per acre of one food crop in terms of another did not change substantially between *c.*1600 and *c.* 1910, an exception being offered by *bajra* which appears to have been of lesser value in the earlier period[23].

The contemporary observers, however, find the productivity of soil to be declining towards the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. Butter (writing in 1839) laments about the declining rainfall and the agricultural produce:

> "...The annual fall of rains has, within the last thirty years, become extremely irregular, varying from 70 to 30 inches in amount, and from four to two months in duration; but is on an average of five or six years, steadily decreasing. In places, where grass formerly grew tall enough to be used for thatch, it now scarcely affords pasturage for animals. This gradual falling of in the quantity of rain, and consequently of agricultural produce, is observable to every man

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22 Moosvi, opci*t*, pp. 73-86.

23 *Agrarian System*, p. 43; compare from *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* , 1917, p. 820; and 1918, pp. 377-8; W H Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, London, 1920, p. 103 & n.; Cf. S Moosvi, pp. 86-92.

who has lived forty years in Awadh. From the same cause, now it is found necessary to make wells much deeper, than in former times"[24].

The condition of the productivity in 1839 and prior to that can be gleaned out from the following tables (2.3 & 2.4), which records quantity of seeds required per *bigha* and their yields in current year (in good year and bad year) compared with the yield of former days[25].

Table 2.3: *Kharif* crops sown in the rainy season.

S. No.	Name of crop.	*Seers* of seed per *bigha*.	*Mans* of produce in a good year.	*Mans* of produce in a bad year.	Former produce in *Mans*.
1.	Kodu	4	10 or 12	4 or 5	16 Or 17
2.	Narua, Meruan or Makra	4	8 Or 9	2 or 3	10 or 11
3.	Sanwa	3	8	2 or 3	10 or 12
4.	Makai or Bhutta	50	16 or 18	5 or 6	
5.	Cotton	6	4	1/8 or 1	
6.	Jundi or Jour	6	10 or 12	4 Or 5	
7.	Bajra	6	10 or 12	4 or 5	
8.	Urdh or Mas	7 ½	8 or 10	3 or 4	
9.	Mothi	4	5 or 6	3	
10.	Arhar	1 ½	8	2 or 3	

24 Butter, p. 16.

25 Ibid, pp. 56-62.

11.	Til	3	7 of seed or 1 ¾ of oil	2or 3	
12.	Asahan kharif (un transplanted rice)	30	15	8 or 9	20
13.	Jorhan (transplanted rice)	40 transplanted inti 6 *bighas*.	100 from the 6 *bighas*.	50 or 60 from the 6 *bighas*.	

Table 2.4: Rabi crops sown in the cold season.

S. No.	Name of the crop	*Seers* of seeds per *bigha*.	*Mans* of the produce in a good year	*Mans* of the produce in a bad year	Former produce in *mans*.
1.	Chana	30	14 or 15	5 to 8	18 to 20
2.	Genhun	50	14 or 15	7 or 8	20 to 25
3.	Jau	40	20 to 22	10 to 13	20 to 25
4.	Surson	¼	1 to 2	½ to ¾	
5.	Tisi or Arsi (linseed)	10	3 or 4	1 ½ to 2	
6.	Gauha or Barua (an oily plant)	½ or 1	¾ to 1	None	
7.	Kusum (Safflower)	2 ½	1 ½ to 5 of flowers	¾ to 1 of flowers	
8.	Masur	30	8 to 10	4 to 5	

The average yield further declined after the annexation as complained by the natives and recorded by the Settlement Officers[26]. The average yield of wheat during the early years of nineteenth century was 180 *sers* per 10 *sers* of seed which declined to 118 *sers* in 1839 (see Table 2.4). After the annexation the average yield of wheat in Sultanpur[27] and Fyzabad[28] districts were respectively 83.33 and 86 *sers* respectively of 10 *sers* of seeds. This decrease in fertility appears to have had little bearing on the gains of intermediary classes as they expanded their personal proceeds from the land. The cultivators on the other hand had to bear the entire brunt.

The method of cultivation and the natural advantages of fertility of soil, rainfall etc. thus helped the growth of agriculture throughout the eighteenth century and was crucial for the growth of regions like Benaras, Farrukhabad, Moradabd-Bareilly, along with the Fyzabad, Lucknow and other districts. During the second half of the eighteenth century this growth of agriculture definitely attracted the European merchants to these regions following the victory of British East India Company over Nawab of Awadh in 1764 at Buxar. The growth of exports from these regions to Bengal was

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26 Millet, *Report of Sultanpur*, p. 206, Para 424.

27 Ibid, Section III, Para 422.

28 Millet, *Fyzabad Report*, pp. 46-47.

spectacular in response to the 'great expansion' of Calcutta's seaborne trade in the late eighteenth century[29].

The struggle between the interest of native and the European merchants was one of the important concerns of the Nawab of Awadh after their defeat in Buxar. The contemporary correspondence records several letters written by Nawab Asaf ud' Daula addressed to authorities at Calcutta drawing the attention of the latter towards the overbearing attitude of the *gumashtas* of the European merchants and their encroachments. They were also concerned with their monopoly in the region and appealed to the Nawab to check the movements of non-British European merchants[30]. The movements of British troops and their deployment in Awadh was also an important reason for the growth in the internal as well as external trade in the region. This, however, also ensued a struggle between Europeans and natives for the appropriation of this gain. The Nawabs tried their best to safeguard the native interest. A letter written by Nawab Asaf ud`Daula to Colonel Morgan says:

> "The Colonel will have received orders from the Governor-General and the gentleman of the Council not to send parties of sepoys into his country for procuring provisions and other

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29 M Alam, op.cit, p. 254.

30 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, 6 vols. ed. E. Denison Ross, Calcutta 1911.

necessaries for the English brigade. Henceforth Nawab will himself make necessary arrangements for the supply of provisions. The Colonel should therefore remove his *kotwal* from the Nawab's territory and desist from sending parties of sepoys there. The Nawab will send his own *kotwal* with the flag of the *ganj* which he will fix near the Company's flag within the limits of the brigade, and he will collect provisions and other requisites for the army from all quarters and sell them at *bazars* rates. The Nawabs men will collect duties from the *bazaar* and the *ganj* and in lieu thereof the Colonel or who ever else may be in command of the brigade will receive an annual sum of one lakh of rupees payable by monthly installments commencing from 5 Rabi 11 or 1 Apr[31]. [Dated 19Rabi 11 1195 AH=5 Apr. OR22;TR18, pp 100-1, no 31d; AR4, p 138]

However, the cession of the half of the province to the British deprived the Nawab from some of the most productive tracts, like Farrukhabad, Moradabad-Bareilly, Allahabad etc. The important flourishing marts of late eighteenth century, like Benaras, Mirzapur etc. were taken over by the British. This must have adversely affected the flourishing trade in grain from Awadh. Butter and other 19th century accounts do not regard Awadh as an exporter of grain, but mention that the total production of grain was locally consumed[32]. There was thus a definite

31 *CPC*, vol. VI, pp. 52-3.

32 Butter, pp. 87,93

decline in the position of Awadh as a prime supplier of grain. This must have adversely affected the traders and grain merchants of the region.

Besides the food grains, there was a number of cash crops grown in Awadh such as cotton, indigo, opium, sugarcane, tobacco, etc. Cotton was produced throughout the Mughal North India and was highly valued in comparison to other crops[33]. In Awadh also it had an important share in cultivation. Most of the cotton was produced in the highlands along the banks of river *Sai* and in the region of *doab*. After the division of Awadh in 1801, the cotton produced, especially at Tanda(a manufacturing centre of Awadh), was locally consumed, and was not exported to Allahabad or Mirzapur except a little quantity sent to *Mau* (in Ghazipur district)[34]. The cotton of Bundelkhand, though of superior quality, was cheaper than that of Salon as it was abundant[35]. Cotton was also produced in *Baiswara,* but of a quality inferior to that of Bundelkhand. Around three quarter of supply of cotton was procured from Bundelkhand (Kalpi, Banda, Konch, Jalwan, and Lakhnau), and the Doab (by river-route from Najafgarh)[36]. The decline of Tanda in the face of an increasing demand for European cotton adversely

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33 *Agrarian system*, p. 43-44.

34 Butter, p. 61

35 Ibid, p.61

36 Ibid, pp. 61-62.

affected not only the production of cotton but also its manufacture in Tanda and Mau[37].

Indigo and opium were the other important cash crops. Indigo, however, was grown in the region of Doab but lost its importance in the early nineteenth century Awadh. It continued to be a lucrative crop in the North West Provinces. The districts of Meerut, Muradabad, Farrukhabad, Barailly, and Etawah witnessed flourishing trade during the first half of the eighteenth century. In 1820 Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan, Nawab of Fatehgarh, formed a partnership in the indigo business with William Morton[38].

Opium produced in Awadh, though of inferior quality, was in great demand. In Fyzabad, opium was produced by the *Kachis* caste and the whole produce was taken by the native agents of the Government. It was also produced on the left bank of the Gomti river on a large scale. On the

37 Asiya Siddiqui, *Agrarian Change in a Northern State: Uttar Pradesh, 1819-1833*, Oxford, 1973, pp. 140-41; From the end of the eighteenth century there was a sharp decline in the export of Bengal cotton piece-goods and, at the same time, a progressive increase in both the consumption of European goods in India and the amount of private remittances to Europe. the latter it was calculated, may have averaged somewhat more than half a crore of rupees annually in the fifty years up to 1820-21 by that date it was probably three times as much.

38 Ibid, pp. 142-44.

right bank of the Gomti it was not grown on such a large scale but found its way to the cities of Lakhnau, Fyzabad, and Benaras through inland routes and waterways[39]. The cheapness of opium in Awadh and the prospects of high profits through greater cultivation was one of the important concerns of the British officials. It is to be noted that the opium prices in Awadh were from three to eight rupees per *seer*, according to its quality, while in neighboring British territory it was sold fourteen rupees per *seer* in the shops licensed by the Government[40].

The prices of food grains continued to increase during the Nawabi period. During the second half of the eighteenth century the purchasing value of rupee was several times higher than in the third decade of the twentieth century. The prices of grain, milk, ghee, oil and other commodities were relatively cheaper during the reign of Shuja-ud-daula[41]. The purchasing value of rupees during the rule of successive Nawabs declined considerably and the commodities tended to become more expensive. The following table illustrates the trend in prices during the Nawabi period up to the annexation in 1856:

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39 Butter, pp. 59-61.

40 Sir William Henry Sleeman, *Journey Through the Kingdom of Oude* in 1849-1850, Lucknow,, *1989*, vol. II, pp. 229-30.

41 *Shuja-ud-Daula*, op.cit, vol. II, p. 344.

Table: 2.5

Commodities	1764[42] Ms.	S.	1818[43] Ms.	S.	1856[44] Ms.	S.
Wheat	1	10	1	6 ¾		24
Barley	2		1	12		
Urd	1	20	1	9 ½		25
Moong	1	10		38 ¼		30
Brown Rice	1			33		
Gram	1					
White Rice		30		22 ½		17
Ghee		3				2.35
Mustrd oil		10		11 ¼		5
Kodaun	3	20				
Raw Suger		30				
Suger		7				3.80

42 Ibid, vol. II, pp. 344-345; cited from Sayyed Muhammad Bilgram's *Tabsirat-ul-Nazirin*, p. 667.

43 Durga Parshad, *Tarikh-i-Sandila*, Lucknow 1916, pp. 108-111; Price list belongs to the market of (Mahmudabad). The kachha maunds has been converted to packka maunds.

44 *Tilism-i- Lucknow*, No. 4, p.8, August 1856.

The table compares the prevailing prices in Awadh of different food grains and other commodities. The figures of 1764, as informed by the author, correspond to the period of crisis, and therefore the prices must be lower than that during the normal period. The prices did not rise sharply till the rule of Saadat Khan who was credited with better administrative skills. Thereafter prices started rising sharply. Saadat khan was able to contain the price rise even during the period of crisis, and wheat sold at the rate of 30 *ser* per rupee. He took strong measures against hoarding of grains to provide relief to his subjects[45].

Table 2.6 compares the price rise, taking the prices of 1764 as100 percent and comparing them with the prices of 1818, and 1856 soon after the annexation. The phenomenal increase in price of wheat i.e. 52percent may be attributed to the commercialization of the wheat crops. In case of barley, as it was the food of common masses, its demand increased and demand shifted from wheat to barley and its price also increased by 65 percent. This increase would have definitely affected the subsistence of common masses.

45 Muhammad Najmul Ghani, *Tarikh-i-Awadh*, Lucknow, 1919, vol. IV, pp. 72-73.

Table: 2.6

Commodities	1764 Prices in % (*ser* / rupee)	1818 Prices in % (*ser* / rupee)	1856 Prices in % (*ser* / rupee)
Wheat	100	93.5	48
Barley	100	65	35[46]
Urd	100	82.5	41.6
Moong	100	76.5	60
White Rice	100	75	56.6
Mustard Oil	100		50
Suger	100		54.28
Ghee	100		78.3

Another figure available for the prices of food grains in certain year's from1797 to 1834 in the *bazaar* of Colonelganj (Gonda) is tabulated in *sers* per rupee in the following table[47].

Table: 2.7

Names of grains	1797	1812	1813	1814	1815	1816	1826	1827	1828	1834
Rice (Kuari)	108	126	94.5	63	47.25	48.6	126	108	85.5	

46 The price of Barley in Lucknow was 28 *ser* per rupee in 1856 quoted from *Gazetteer of Oudh*, op.cit, vol. II, pp. 326-327.

47 *Gazetteer Of Oudh*, 1873, vol. I, pp. 529-30(the local *maunds* and *sers* has been converted to standerd *sers).*

Wheat	63	126	72	40.5	31.5	38.25	85.05	63	45	31.5
Barley	94.5	180	135	54		54			90	
Gram	85.5	180	117	49.5	36	45.25	162	94.5	67.5	
Arhar		135	90	48.15	36		121.9	85.5		
Urd		108	99			39.6	90	67.5		

The above table indicates that in year 1797 it was perhaps crop failure and the prices were high, which seems to have recovered in 1812. The prices of 1812, if compared with the prices of 1826, which appears to be a good year of harvest, the prices tend to increase drastically. The price of wheat, an important grain, increased by almost 33 percent, and in 1828 increased by 65 percent, and in 1834 increased by 75 percent. The prices of other grain also witnessed an extraordinary increase during the aforesaid period.

The list of prices between the period of 1835 and 1860 are available for the two places, Lucknow and Hardoi (see appendix B&C). The prices of wheat and barley in *sers* per rupee from Lucknow and Hardoi from 1835 to 1860 are tabulated in the following table[48].

[48] For the prices of Lucknow see *Gazetteer Of Oudh*, 1878, Vol. II, pp. 326-27; and for the prices of Hardoi see *Gazetteer Of Oudh*

Table: 2.8

Year	Wheat						Barley					
	Lucknow			Hardoi			Lucknow			Hardoi		
	Ms	S	C	Ms	S	C	Ms	S	C	Ms	S	C
1835		37			33	8		30		1	2	8
1836		23.5			25			26.5			28	
1837		25.5			15			22.5			18	
1838		25.5			20			29.5			21	8
1839		24.5			27	8		26.5			37	6
1840		27			26			25.5			32	8
1841		24.5			25	8		25.5			31	
1842		32			29			32.5			36	12
1843		30			30			34			38	
1844		25.5			24			34.5			31	
1845		26.5			30			31.5			37	8
1846		27.5			32			28.5		1	10	
1847		25.5			33	8	1	4.5		1	6	4
1848		28.5		1	0	0		33		1	12	
1849		31		1	1	4		34		1	32	8
1850		38			39			34.5		1	27	8
1851		27.5		1	6	4		27.5		2	7	8
1852	1	1.5			37		1	19		1	20	
1853	1	2.5			32			32.5		1	4	
1854		35			35		1	6		1	7	8
1855		30		1	7	8	1	4.5		1	20	
1856		29.5			37			28		1	30	
1857		24.5			26			27			36	
1858		29.5			30			26.5		1		
1859		29.5			33			29.5		1		5
1860	1	2.5		25	8		1	0.5		38		

Lucknow had normally a higher price index in comparison to the smaller districts, like Hardoi. The prices in both the districts increased from 1835 onwards and started recovering in 1852 and 1853. However this recovery was short lived and again increased continuously reflecting some signs of stability only after annexation.

CHAPTER III

AGRARIAN RELATIONS, REVENUE AND RENT

Agrarian Relations:

The property in land during the colonial period has attracted the attention of a number of scholars who have tried to examine the nature of proprietary rights in the pre-colonial period in order to study the nature of change in agrarian relationship in the colonial period. Inspite of divergent positions held by historians, there is an agreement on the point that there was no exclusive right to property vested in land throughout the pre-colonial period. In Mughal India, what appeared to be the right of property was actually a system containing a "network of transferable rights and obligations, with different claimants (the king or his assignee, the *zamindar*, and then the peasant) to differently defined shares in the produce from the same land.[1] The king claimed the share of produce in the form of the land revenue, which he collected through his agency while the *zamindars* and peasants shared the rest of produce on the basis of divergent claims and rights.

Awadh was a province of the Mughal Empire, and initially followed the Mughal system of 'transferable rights and obligations' in the nawabi

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1 *Agrarian System*, pp.134-35.

period. Over the period, it moved away from the Mughal model, giving way to different types of tenures. The changes in the mode of land revenue collection in this period considerably shaped the agrarian relations in Awadh as well.

Fortunately for us, as the settlement officers were required to inquire into the origin and growth of tenures at the time of annexation, we have their reports that throw important light on the history of tenures in Awadh. They referred to three broad categories; *taluqa* (hereditary or acquired), estates held by independent communities; and a very large variety of sub-proprietory tenures.[2] The tenures held directly from the state were: *taluqdari, zamindari, pattidari and bhayachara.*

Besides, there were sub-proprietary tenures with regional variations throughout Awadh. One such important tenure which had an impact on other forms of tenures was the sub-settlement. In case of sub-settlement, an entire village was held in subordination by the government *malguzar*. This tenure was held in many ways: by the original owners of the village, or was held by persons to whom the original owners conveyed the right by sale, gift or mortgage, but since unwilling to sever all connections with the ancestral property, still retaining a superior right over it.[3] Calculating the customary

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2 Millett, *Fyzabad Report*, Section IV, Para-190.

3 *Ibid*, Section IV, Para-209.

benefits of the sub-proprietors, the Financial Commissioners Circular VI of 1867 attributes a claim of 10% of the rental[4], whereas the statistics of sub-settlement suits decided on trial in Fyzabad district suggested that the average share of the gross rental enjoyed by the sub-proprietors were 30% instead of 10%[5] . The following table 3.1[6] based on the details of settlement returns shows the share (%) of villages held by *taluqars* under direct settlement, the sub-settled villages, and the Percentage of the Profits in *taluqdari* villages absorbed by sub-proprietors:

Table 3.1

District	Percentage of *taluqdari* village	Percentage of *taluqdari* villages sub-settled	Percentage of profits in *taluqdari* villages absorbed by sub-proprietors
1.Sultanpur	53	12	15
2.Partabgarh	69	14	11
3.Rae Bareli	69	06	10
4.Lucknow	25	14	09

4 *Ibid*, Section IV Para-211.

5 *Ibid*, Section IV, para-221.

6 'Resolution on the basis of Report on the Settlement of the Land Revenue of the Sultanpur District' by G E Erskine 1877, para-12, in Millet, *Report of Sultanpur*.

5.Bara Banki	53	16	09
6.Fyzabad	66	36	Not less than 40

The terms *zamindars* and *taluqdars* appear identical and confusing so far as their position as a landed class in the pre-colonial period is concerned. The *zamindars* had been an important class and had also an important role in facilitating remission of land revenue to the state agencies, the *taluqdars* having the same role, was a newer term for big landholders (*zamindars*) who contracted with the state to not only pay for his own *zamindari*, but also for the *zamindari* of other lesser *zamindars*.[7]Generally such arrangements were made by the state (through the *amils* initially but later by the *chakladars*) for the convenience of revenue collection through big *taluqdars* instead of from a number of smaller *zamindars*.

There is little information about the growth of the *taluqdari* tenures and the actual position of *taluqdars* in Awadh during the 18th century. Persian texts and documents have used the word *taluqa* often in a different connotation from that used in the first half of the 19th century. By the end of 18th century, the word *taluqdar* came in vogue[8].

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7 S.Z.H. Jafri, *Studies in the anatomy of a transformation: Awadh from Mughal to Colonial Rule*, New Delhi, 1998, p.76.

8 *Ibid*, p.77.

There had been much discussion and debate in the British official circles, after the annexation, over the origin and nature of *taluqdari.* The authors of the Settlement Reports were guided by the settlement returns and the different theoretical positions held by the officials. Regarding what constituted a *taluqa* two extreme theories were put up. One was the patriarchal theory which took the position that *taluqdars* were *pater atque princes* [Father and Prince/Patriarchal and Political head] in his estates. A passage from 'The *Taluqdari* Tenures in Upper India' *Calcutta Review*, June 1866, quoted in the Settlement Report of Sultanpur, recorded that the 'Talookas' were of two categories, 'pure' and 'impure'. The first category came into existence after the colonization of the region during early twelfth century by the 'Rajpoots', assuming all the proprietary privileges later by their descendent chiefs. And, in the later case the large proprietors have been formed at a more recent period through the influence of official position, or by favor of the ruling power[9].

The opposite view is explained by Benett that the division of the class into true and false *talukdars* puts the matter in quite a wrong light. As a matter of fact, all were exactly the same in as far as they were *talukdars*, middlemen put in by or forced on the government superintendents of arbitrary collection of villages, who as the central power grew weaker, were

9 Millett, *Report of Sultanpur*, Section VII, para-139.

being gradually and surely transformed into landed proprietors . What has been called a true talukdar differs from what has been called a false talukdar, only in the fact that while the former had been for centuries exercising an *imperium in imperio* [State within a state] on the spot, the latter was an outsider whose fortune, talents, or wealth had secured him the position. Both were alike in being talukdars, though they differed in every other particular[10].

The former view implies that there was wrapped up in the word *taluqa* the ideas of original acquisition by conquest, chiefship of a clan, and possession of an estate for several centuries; the latter on the contrary held that none of these were essential for the tenure and the "*taluka proper*" had come into existence within the last hundred years.

As it appears from this discussion, a large number of *taluqdar* were of indigenous Rajput tribes who had colonized the land of Awadh in quite distant times, and had appropriated the superior rights in land, becoming *zamindars* in the region. A separate district, Biaswara, got carved out of the contiguous areas in the provinces of Awadh and 'Ilahabad', consisting of "the many *mahals* that are the home of the seditious *zamindars* of the clan

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10 *Ibid*, section VII, para-140. Quoted from Benett, *A Report on the Family History of the Chief Clans of the Roy Barailly District*, opcit, para-87.

(*qaum*) of *Bais*."[11] The Settlement Report of Fyzabad records that in Fyzabad district, the Rajbansis of Aldeman, the Bias of Birhar, the Bias of Mangalsi and the Chauhans of Jagdispur consolidated their hold and the entire area came exclusively under these Rajput families.[12]

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11 *Agrarian System*, p.199. *Insha-i-Roshan Kalam*, University Farsi Akhbar, 160, Maulana Azad Library, AMU, Aligarh, ff.6b-7a. Baiswara included Parts of the *sarkar* of Lakhnau, Awadh, Manikpur, and Korra. The Bais survive as an important *zamindar* class in the region. It is interesting to compare the list of *mahals* against which the *A'in* has entered the name of the Bias as *zamindars*, with that of the *mahals* of Baiswara given in *Chronicles of Oonao*, p.67. Both *mahals* are common to both lists, but there have been imported changes.

12 Millett;*Fyzabad Report*, section IV, para-186. These families acknowledged the guidance of distinct head and in course of time divided off into branches.

13. The *talluqdar* of Salempur (Pargaua Mohanlalganj, district Lucknow), Sheikhs of Amethia claimed that his ancestors received two *farmans* from Mughal emperors and thereby claimed a right to the whole *pargana*. One *farman* was issued by Jahangir (in 1617) in the name of Mohiuddin and the another by Farrukhsiyar (in 1715) in the name of Muhammad Asaf confirming them in the offices of *chaudhary* and *zamindar* of the *pargana*. The Janwars of Mau at the extreme south-west of the *pargana* relate that they received their villages from the above mentioned house, and the Nasim

During the Mughal period, new settlers colonized fresh lands or encroached upon the land of others. They acquired the position of *zamindars* and appropriated *zamindari* rights over large tracts of lands, also giving lands to pre-existing tribes of Janwars and Biases.[13]

During the nawabi period, some of the *taluqdars* rose to considerable prominence, acquiring land and enlarging their holdings. Their rise has been attributed largely to their association with the nawabi house. For instance, Mirza Jafar Ali Khan, *taluqdar* of Behta (Lucknow District) was grandson of Nawab Munawwar-ud Daula, a minister at the court.[14]

Some *taluqdars* were military adventurers who entered nawab's service by their sheer ability, acquired land and established themselves as *taluqdars*. An Afridi Pathan, came to Malihabad during the reign of Nawab Shuja-ud 'Daula. Initially serving in the nawab's regiment, he soon joined the pindaris. During the reign of Ghazi-ud Din Haider he acquired the lease

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Khan, *taluqdar* of Kasmandi Khurd Baises of karora in the centre ousted the original *zamindari* of Sheikhs. The ancestors of this house drove out Amethi a Rajputs from Amethi Dugar and had established themselves.Butts, *Report of Lucknow,* opcit, Appendix II, pp. XXX-XXXI.

14 Ibid, Appendix II, p.XXVIII.

of Malihabad and founded the estate of Tharri Fathnagar. After his death his estate got divided between his sons.[15]

The officials of nawab, the collector, the nazim and their family members also grabbed the opportunity to acquire land in *taluqdari*. Kunwar Bhagwant Singh Kayath, *taluqdar* of Asni Gorakhpur, was previously a collector in the reign of Amjad Ali Khan and amassed an estate consisting of twelve villages.[16] Similarly Mohammad Ali, *taluqdar* of Uchagaon (pargana Mohan) had long resided in the pargana but acquired the *taluqdari* quite late. His family members had served as *nazim* in Khairabad and as *chakladar* in Safipur Miyaganj and Mohan.[17]

The weaknesses that crept in *ijaradari* system especially after the death of Saadat Khan (in 1814) provided opportunities for the bankers and merchants to invest in land and establish *taluqdaris* of their own. Chundanlal, a merchant-money lender and treasurer to the *nazim* started

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15 Ibid, AppendixII, pp. XLIII-XLIV. Another adventurer from Qandhari Pathan of Khaspur Shah (Malihabad) Yusuf Khan came to Lucknow during the reign of Shuja-ud-Daula. His sons acquired twelve villages in *jagir* and remained close to the Nawabs. The family retained six villages after the annexation and they were all *mafi*. *Ibid*, Appendix II, pp. LXXVIII-LXXIX.

16 Ibid, Appendix II, pp. LXXVIII –LXXIX.

17 Ibid, Appendix II, p. LVI.

acquiring villages. By 1825, his estate rose to yield 2 1/2 lacs.[18] Another *taluqdar*, Baldeo Singh of Purseni's ancestor was an agent of Chundanlal and had estates in Lucknow and Unnaoo. He held six villages in Lucknow and six in Oonao (in post-annexation Awadh).[19]

During the early period of Nawabi rule, the *taluqdars* (originally *zamindars*) having long standing rights in land, expanded and enlarged their holdings at the cost of smaller *zamindars* and appropriated their superior rights in the *taluqdari* tenure and thereby took over their function of remitting land revenue to the state. Besides they also infringed on the rights of the zamindars (which was there from Mughal period onwards) to distribute land in the village among revenue-paying cultivators and to assign waste lands to the cultivators of their choice.[20] To take an example from the reign of Asaf-ud Daula, in an area consisting of ninety villages (in the

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18 *The Chronicles of Oono*, p. 139. In 1810 when Fuzl Ali Khan was the *nazim* of Baiswara, Chundan Lal first appears as the owner of 3 villages in different parts of the district. From this he went on gradually increasing his possession till in 1825 AD When Raja Durshan Singh was Nazim, his estate had risen to 2 ½ lacs and it continued to fluctuate between this amount and a minimum of 1 ½ lacs (with only one considerable exception to be mentioned afterwards) till 1850 A.D.

19 Butts, *Report of Lucknow*, opcit, Appendix II, pp. XXXVIII-XXXIX.

20 *Agrarian system*, p. 178.

pargana of Hisampur), part of each village was in *taluqa*, and the rest in *zamindari* but the *taluqdars* took possession of a large tract of uncultivated land belonging to the zamindars, paid Rs.5000 for it in *huzur tehsil* and enjoyed its profits.[21]

We thereby find the number and size of *taluqas* increasing in the nawabi period, especially after the death of Saadat Ali Khan, owing either to the weakness of rule, *ijaradari* or British presence and interference.[22] Awadh thus witnessed large-scale redistribution of land in this period owing largely to the aggrandizement by the *taluqdars*.

The state too, from quite an early period, granted *zamindaris* to persons in the areas considered strongholds of particular clans. During the Mughal period, local Muslims were granted big *zamindaris* in midst of Bias Rajput's territories in Baiswara to break the caste monopoly of Bias in the region.[23] Bias continued to maintain their dominance in other parts of Awadh but in Lucknow, the Bias of Dewa were replaced by the Sheikhs (in 1850).[24] The caste-wise distribution of landed property also changed hands. The Chauhans of Bhauli replaced the Brahmins and managed a large area of

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21 *Tafzihul Ghafilin*, opcit, p.32.

22 Jafri, opcit, pp. 77-79.

23 *Agrarian system*, p. 222.

24 Butts, *Report of Lucknow*, Appendix II, pp. LXXX-LXXXIII.

thirty-two villages.[25] The Chauhans and Janwars (Rajputs) replaced Kurmis in Mohan and of Arakhs (linked to Pasis) in Malihabad. Later, Janwars lost their possession to Pathans and Sheikhs of Malihabad.[26] The Janwars of Tappa Kathauli lost their area to Pathans of Malihabad.[27] The pre-existing caste composition in the land possession pattern thus witnessed frequent change.

The following table from the Settlement Report of Fyzabad District, 1880, brings out the caste-wise distribution of land in that period and compares these with that of Akbar's reign (based on information from *Ain-i-Akbari*). We hereby find in the Mughal period Rajputs as the most dominant land-owning class, followed by the Brahmins and Kayaths. But the distribution got considerably altered over a period of time.

Table 3.2 [28]

Present *pargana*(post-annexation)	Proprietors of present day	Proprietors of Akbar's period
1. Haveli Oudh	Brahmins(of Mahdona Rajkomars,Surajbans)	Brahmins,Kurmis
2.Mangalsi	Brahmins (of Mahdona)	Sombansis

25 Ibid, Appendix II, pp. LXVII-LXVIII.

26 Ibid, Appendix II, pp. LIII-LIV, LXV-LXVII.

27 Ibid, Appendix III, pp. LII-LIII.

28 Millett, *Fyzabad Report*, Section II, Para-343.

3.Amsins	Brahmins (of Mahdona) Barwars	Bachgotis
4.Pachhimarth	Brahmins (of Mahdona) Bachgotis, Gargbans	Bachhils and Gahlots
5.Khandansa	Bisens Chauhans	Bisens and Chauhans
6.Akbarpur	Saiyyads,Rajkomars,Palwars	Rajputs, Saiyyads, Brahmins
7.Tanda	,,	Kayath(and in Iltifatganj) different castes
8. Birhar	Palwars	Rahmat ul Elahi,brahmins
9.Surharpur	Palwars,Rajkomars,Musalmans	Rajputs
10.Majhaura	Bachgotis,Raotars,Sheikhs	Brahmins,Bachgotis
11.Aldeman	Rajkomars	Bachgotis
12.Sultanpur	Bachgotis, Rajkumars,Gargbans Brahmins (of Mahdona) Chauhans	Ditto
13.Isauli	Bhale Sultans, Musalmans	Bachgotis

If we look at the district-wise land distribution pattern in Awadh; in the parganas Akbarpur and Birhar, only Saiyads were in possession of land. After annexation, the Rajputs in many areas retained their position and even replaced other castes like Brahmins, Kurmis, and Kayaths. The Saiyads, Sheikhs and other Muslim castes increased their possessions in the parganas of Akbarpur, Tanda, Surhurpur, Majhaura and Isauli. But the most

significant increase was that of Brahmins of Mahdona in the parganas of Fyzabad.

In the Sultanpur district, the Kshatriyas dominated the landed property. The other castes such as Brahmins and Kayaths among Hindus and Khanzadas, Bhale Sultans, Mewatis etc. among Muslims also held land but nowhere were close to the Kshatriyas in the district. Following is the breakup of landed property in Sultanpur (after the annexation)[29].

Total No. of Village	–	1,913
Kshatriya	–	1332
Brahmins	–	50
Kayaths	–	78
Saiyads	–	30
Sheikhs	–	31
Pathans	–	20
Moghals	–	10
Mewati	–	75
Khanzada	-	130

[29] Millett, *Report of Sultanpur*, Table IX (statement illustrative of property in land according to clans), pp. XLII-XLV.

Bhale Sultans	-	101
Bharsaiyan	-	22

In Partapgarh district, the Settlement Report records total 2661 villages under different proprietors on the basis of Book circular no. VII of 1866,[30] while *Gazetteers of Oudh* (first published in 1877-78) gives the total number of villages as 2,214.[31]The caste-wise distribution of propriety right is not forthcoming to us from the later reports, as had been for other districts, but we find the Rajputs were dominant here throughout, before and after annexation. [32]

In Rai Bareli district, the Bias Rajputs controlling major proprietary retained these rights after annexation, the change being only slight in this district.[33]

However, Bahraich witnessed substantial changes in proprietary rights. The Settlement Report records that while eleven *taluqdars* (having

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30 Forbes, *Report of Partabgarh*, Table V, pp. XVIII-XIX.

31 *Gazetteers of Oudh*, vol. III, p. 130 (Statement of Tenures & c.).

32 Following is the distribution of proprietory rights of Rajputs in the old district (Pre-annexation) of Partapgarh.Taluqdari-1,722 villages, Zamindari-387, Sub-settlement- 262, *Ibid*, p. 118.

33 After the annexation almost 99 percent proprietary rights were in contort of Tilokchandi Bias.*Ibid*, pp. 207-208.

828 villages) had ancestral rights in the region, seven new *taluqas* were created (over 138) villages) in a period of forty year (before annexation) and eighteen *taluqdars* acquired loyal grants (total of 794 villages) after the Mutiny.[34] After the death of Nawab Saadat Khan (in1814), as many as 1,295 *khalisa* villages came under different proprietors.[35]

1) Pargana Bahraich: (621 villages) 255 villages consisted of *jagir* of a pathan, afterwards held by Rai Aman Singh (Rajput?). Around 34 villages held by Saiyads. The other villages were held by smaller grantees, hereditary *muqaddams, kurmis,* the agriculturist class and nominees of *nazims.*

2) Pargana Fakhrpur (209 villages): 108 villages held almost entirely by the Raiwasi coparcenaries communities. 28 villages were owned by the old *qanungo* family.

3) Pargana Hissampur (465 villages); Saiyads held no less than 247 villages, Sheikh *qanungo* family held 49 villages.

The above social distribution of proprietary rights in Bahraich that came up in this period remained so even after the annexation. Only the size of

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34 Edgar Gibson Clark and Henry Scot Boys, *Report on the Revision of Settlement of the Bahraich District, Oudh 1865-72*, chapter IV, para-11.

35 Ibid, Section III, para 105-108.

holding got somewhat altered due to the wrangling for the *khalisa* villages and lands of smaller proprietors.

In Lucknow district which was also the seat of the government, the Muslim castes appear to have a relatively stronger presence. The long standing rights of Rajputs were wrested by the Saiyads and Khans in this area. In one instance, the land of Bias of Rajauli and Haraura were completely taken over by the Sheikhs of Dewa.[36] With this re-distribution, the Rajputs' dominance in the area was quite moderated. The district was not primarily in *taluqdari* as only a small number of *taluqdars* (37 in number) held 375 *mahals* out of 1498 *mahals*.[37] There was smaller *zamindari* in the region. Following was the share of different castes in the total 1,416 villages of Lucknow (after the annexation).[38]

Saiyads, Sheikhs and Pathans	555 villages
Chhatris	546 villages
Brahmans	132 villages
Kayaths	41 villages
Ahirs and Kurmis	38 villages

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[36] Butts, *Report of Lucknow,* Appendix II, pp. LXXX-LXXXIII.

[37] Ibid, Part III, Para 55-56.

[38] Ibid, Appendix II, p. XX I.

In the Gonda district also, the long standing rights were re-distributed. The territorial distribution of landed property at the time of Burhan-ul Mulk, was as follows:[39]

Clan	Square miles
Janwar	400
Pathan	373
Kalhans	266
Bissen	1,100
Direct Mohammadan Government	80
Total	2,219

While after annexation, the major portion was in the hands of Kshatriyas and Brahmins; Pathans, Sheikhs, Saiyad and Kayaths also had their share.[40]

Thus, we see considerable re-distribution of landed proprietorship in certain parts of Awadh, partly also owing to the state intervention. There was substantial redistribution of land in Lucknow, Fyzabad, Sultanpur,

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39 Fritham, Lyndhurst, Hampshire; *Settlement Report of the Gonda District 1877*, Letter written to the Commissioner of Fyzabad District dated April 30th 1877, Para 42, p. 19.

40 Out 3,478 villages 124 Kshatriya caste held 1,623 villages , 429 Brahmans held 1,156 villages, 62 Pathans 225 villages, 53 sheikhs 71 villages 43 Sayyad 60 villages. *Gazetteer of Oudh*, vol-1, p. 513.

Bahraich and Gonda, though in Rai Bareli it remained almost unchanged with 99 percent retention of land. At the same time, the *taluqdars*, the major landed class in the region, kept expanding their possessions during the nawabi rule which was greatly at the state's expense. Table 3.3 represents for villages held by *taluqdars* at the time of annexation of Awadh, in 1856[41].

District	villages	
	Taluqdari	Total
1. Lucknow	575	1,570
2.Unnao	368	1,236
3. Rae Bareli	1,052	1,551
4.Faizabad	3,116	4,215
5.Sultanpur	2,133	3,351 1/2
6.Partapgarh	3,032	3,633
7.Gonda	3,483	4,129
8.Bahraich	3,761	3,949
9.Mahmudi	1,759	3,130 1/2
10.Hardoi	464	1,427
11.Daryabad	1,087	2,506
12.Sitapur	2,692	4,422

41 Metcalf, p. 31.

One of the major ways in which extension took place was through the appropriation of *khalisa* villages by the *taluqdars*. In Bahraich, as we have seen, the *khalisa* villages numbered 1295 (in 1814), out of which 439 villages were taken by different houses of *taluqdars*, and by 1857, the number of such villages were 788.[42] The revenue collection from *khalisa* in this district declined from Rs. 7, 25, 000 in 1807 to Rs.69, 000 in 1850.[43] Sleeman also records that the share of *khalisa* substantially declined. In the *pargana* of Kheree, out of the total 388 *khalisa* villages with a revenue of 1,10,992, only 66 *khalisa* villages with revenue of Rs.21, 881 were left while the remaining 322 villages were absorbed by the three families of Janwar Rajputs[44].

The *taluqdars* also increased their economic base through the enlargement of their share in *nankar*. As we know, the *malikana* (income from proprietary claims) and *nankar* (received from revenue authorities) were the two claims enjoyed by *zamindars* from the Mughal period; *Malikana* being generally 10 percent[45] and the *nankar* 5-10 percent of the land revenue, therefore not exceeding the usual 15-20 percent of the land

42 *Settlement of the Bahraich*, Section III, para 104-113.

43 Sleeman, opcit , vol. II, p. 49.

44 Ibid, vol. I, p. 116.

45 *Agrarian System*, p. 182.

revenue.[46] However by 1850s, the *nankar* claimed by the *zamindars* and the *taluqdars* increased to more than double. For instance, in the year 1839, a *zamindar* in Baiswara paid annual revenue of Rs. 3, 00, 000, while his *nankar* was Rs.45, 000, thus 15 percent of the land revenue.[47] In Kuteysura, the *nankar* amounted to 32 percent in 1850. [48] In Salone, the *nankar* increased from 11 percent to 34 percent.[49] The increase in *nankar* remained one of the major concerns in the British official circle as comes out from Sleeman's report and the nawab's government was continuously criticized on this accord. Sleeman writes:

"…. The Oude Government has this season issued an order to all revenue collectors to refuse to recognize any increase to the *nankar* that has been made since the year 1814 or Fusilee 1222, when Saadut Allee died, as none has since that year received the sanction of Government, though the *nankar* has been more than double within that period in the manner above described by local authorities. The increase to *nankar*, and the alienation in rent free tenure of lands liable to assessment in 1814 by local authorities and influential persons at court, are supposed to amount in all Oude to forty lacs

46 Ibid, p. 187.

47 Butter, pp. 53-4

48 Sleeman, vol I, p. 252.

49 Ibid, vol. II, p. 120.

of rupees a year. None of them have been formally recognised by the court, but a great part of them has been tacitly acquiesced in by the minister and Dewan for the time being. They cannot enforce the order for reverting to the *nankar* of 1814, and if they attempt to do so the whole country will be in disorder.[50]

The British later, after Mutiny, tried in earnest to deal with their prerogatives. Though *sanads* were granted to the *taluqdars*, their share in the produce of land recognized, and their inferior rights were protected but at the same time there was also a limit put to the demands of the *taluqdars*. The whole range of inferior rights was classified into two principal categories:

1. Sub-ordinate proprietary right or sub- settlement and the *Sir* (land on which peasants are directly assessed and revenue collected from them without intermediaries),

2. Quasi-proprietary rights i.e *jagir, milk, aima, mafi, sankalp, dar, bist, marwat,* maintenance, occupancy, *purwas*, groves.[51]

Thus, we see variety of tenures coming up, with lot of local variations, in a short span of about hundred and fifty years of nawab's rule in Awadh. The colonial rule, of course, also had an unsettling effect on

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[50] Ibid, vol. II, p. 25.

[51] Millett, *Report of Sultanpur,* Section VII, Para 154-183.

agrarian relations. The instability in agrarian relations and land rights had profoundly disturbing consequences for the agrarian economy of Awadh.

Revenue:

With the appointment of Burhan-ul Mulk as governor of Awadh, revenue administration was thoroughly reformed. The records of the period bring out the poor state of affairs of the preceding period. The opposition faced by Burhan-ul-Mulk from the Sheikhzadas, local recalcitrant Rajas and zamindars had been one of the central themes for the historians of the contemporary period and the later historiography of Awadh. Muzaffer Alam has discussed the initial problems of Burhan-ul-Mulk and his resolves to tackle the local magnates and the influential nobles at Delhi who also had a say in the regional politics of Awadh[52]. The steps taken by Burhan-ul-Mulk were further reinforced by Safdar Jung with greater intensity and insight, giving fresh life to the revenue paying capacity of the region and administrative strength to the regime.

The foremost step taken by Burhan-ul Mulk was to bring changes in the *jagir* administration. This was done primarily with the intention to isolate the nobles who were influential in central polity, and those who imposed checks on the governer. Burhan-ul-Mulk tried to isolate the

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52 M Alam.

jagirdars from his *amils,* for which he brought the *amils* under his immediate control, providing for their payment out of the revenue collections of the *jagirdar;* an arrangement not liked by the big *jagirdars.* The new arrangement ensured the payment of the dues to the *jagirdars* but they were no longer required to send their *amils* and *gumashtas* to their *jagirs*. The *amils* and the *amins* were henceforth appointed by the governor to whom they were now accountable. The local officials, the *chaudharies*, the *qanungos* and the *muqaddams* were to approach the *amils* of the governor for matters relating to revenue or their own customary perquisites. In other words, the right to administer *jagirs* was taken over from the *jagirdars* by the governor[53]. This would have ensured control over the revenue resources and brought stability and regularity to the provincial administration. This was still a convenient proposition for most of the lesser jagirdars, as they were hardly capable of managing their *jagirs* against the threat of turbulent *zamindars*. Moreover, for a number of them it had not been easy to keep a check on the irregularities committed by their *amils.* This arrangement, interestingly, has been termed by a later court historian as *ijara.* Although apparently similar, yet it clearly differed on a number of

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53 The author of the *Imadus-Sa'adat* term the arrangement of Burhan-ul-Mulk for the *jagirs* as *ijara. Imad-us-S'aadat,* opcit, p. 8; for further detail see M Alam, pp. 206-7.

counts from what we know as the *ijaradari* practice. Nevertheless, the device was able to secure a uniform pattern for the management of *jagirs* in the province.

Burhan-ul-Mulk tried to reduce the number of *jagirs* of the powerful *mansabdars*, especially those posted out side of Awadh. He did not fully succeed in bringing the *jagir* administration under his control. His successor, Safdar Jang, seems to have had more success in this direction. In 1745, when Awadh was gripped by a severe famine, Safdar Jang requested the Emperor to resume the *tankhwah jagirs* of the imperial *mansabdars* in Awadh. Some big nobles continued to hold *jagirs in the province*, but by 1748 only the Nawab and his family members and close associates had big *jagirs* in Awadh[54].

The arrangements of the first two nawabs considerably undermined the political maneuverings at the centre and henceforth paved the way for the succeeding nawabs to consolidate their authority in the region. The control over the revenue and the check over the allocation of *jagirs* were further tightened during the reign of Shuja-ud-Daula and Asaf-ud-Daula. Of the total land revenue, only a small part was allocated by Asaf's regime in *jagirs*. Out of the total gross assessment only 15.7 percent was assigned in

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54 Ibid, p. 209-10.

jagirs[55]. During the reign of Saadat khan, we come across only three important *jagirs* of Rs. 60,000 each, out of total *jama* of Rs.1, 52, 47, 100[56] (besides the *jagir* of Bahu Begam). The detailed figures of the later regimes though not available, we could still know about the distribution pattern through the post-annexation settlements. The first regular settlement of Lucknow district (Summary Settlement, 1858-59) records total assessed revenue at Rs.9,55,599-12-0, out of which Rs. 71,126 (i.e.7.6 percent) was assigned in *jagirs*[57]. Such a low percentage of *jagir* assignment in Lucknow, the centre of ruling elite, clearly reflects the success of these measures.

The *nawabs* also tried to deal with the *zamindars* of the region. The *zamindars* were concealing the real production and were withholding a large share of the produce. An interesting story of Saadat Khan is reported in C A Elliot's *The Chronicles of Oonao a District in Oudh*. He resolved to repair this by a personal tour through the country and enquired into the state of things. He is said to have gone to Morawan where he summoned all the

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55 Barnett, p. 173.

56 Najmul Ghani, vol. IV, P.67. The author mention the holder of these *jagirs* namely Taffazul Hussain Khan Kashmiri, Afrin Ali Khan Khwaja of Baiswara and Nawab Madar-ud-Daula possessing a *jagir* of Rs. 60,000 each along with the list of the *jama* of all the *chaklas*.

57 Butt, *Settelement Report Of Lucknow*, 1873, Part-I, para-45, 81-83.

qanungos of Baiswara and asked them to produce the *dual* (rent-roll) of their respective *parganas*. They said 'what *dual* will you have?' and being asked the meaning of their question, they explained that there were two *duals* which a *qanungo* could give, the 'coward's *duals*' and the 'man's *dual*', in 'cowards dual', against every landowner's name was written only the sums which had been fixed on the last assessment, but in the 'man's *dual*' everyone's rent was indicated on the basis of what it should have been taking into account the improvement that had taken place in land. Saadat Khan called for the 'man's *dual*' and on that basis, doubled the assessment of Baiswara. Then, having summoned the representative of all the *zamindars*, he placed before them on one side a heap of *pan* leaves, on the other a heap of bullets, and bade them, if their masters accepted the terms to take up *pan*; if not the bullets. One after one they came forward and everyone took up the *pan* leaves'[58]. Thus through threat and intimidation zamindars were subdued and sometimes also through persuasion and reconciliation. The military superiority of the governors was crucial in subjugating the *zamindars*.

The arrangement was also of some benefit to the *zamindars*. Mardan singh, the *zamindar* of Dondia Khera and a prominent leader of the erstwhile rebel Bias, received high favour from Burhan-ul-Mulk. Mardan

58 Cf. *The Chronicles Of Oonao*, p. 73.

Singh not only received the right to collect revenue for the state in Baiswara but had the same jurisdiction of the former Mughal *faujdar*. Later his son, Achal Singh also enjoyed the same position under Safdar Jung[59], while Udat Singh, another son of Mardan Singh, who developed a hostile attitude towards Mughals, was crushed by the forces of the Bias *zamindars* themselves[60]. The Mehrors who enjoyed hereditary protection of the Bias, improved their position in the *pargana* of Harha and Prva. They acquired two *tappas* in Harha and eighteen villages in Purwa[61].

Privileges were extended to the *zamindars* in proportion to their power and the benefits expected from their support. Chait Rai a *zamindar* of Baiswara was asked to pay only half the sum that had been fixed on his *zamindari* when he demonstrated his strength by offering a sham fight against Burhan-ul-Mulk[62]. The Bisen *zamindar* of Gonda is reported to have been won over by Burhan-ul-Mulk on the condition that his territory would be independent of the jurisdiction of the *nazim* of Gorakhpur and Bahraich and subject only to the payment of a tribute to the governor[63].

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59 Ibid, pp. 123-4.

60 Ibid., p. 75.

61 Ibid., p. 62.

62 Ibid., p.73.

63 M Alam, p. 214; cited from R Mitra, ' The Bisen Tallukdars of Northern India' *Calcutta Review*, LXXIV, 1882, pp. 367-70.

The previous policy of wooing powerful *zamindars* and seeking their support to strengthen and broaden the social base for the Mughal governorship was extended by Burhan-ul-Mulk and his successor, Safdar Jung, to even smaller *zamindars*, and some of them were given *mansabs*[64]. However, ordinarily no *zamindar* was allowed to accumulate so much power that he could think of bringing changes in the character of his holding. It was not possible for the intermediary *zamindars* to become an autonomous raja, even with additional privileges which they had now. For instance, when *zamindar* of Harha was murdered by his son, Kesari, in the wake of a dispute over the *zamindari,*[65] Kesari was punished by depriving him of his share in the *zamindari* by the *nawab*[66] .

Burhan-ul-Mulk also tried to limit the strength of big rebellious *zamindars*. This was done in Rajput strongholds by providing opportunities for the extension of power and influence of apparently non-Rajput elements over land. A number of cases of the purchase of *zamindaris* by *chaudhuris*

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64 W C Benett, W C Benett, *A Report on the Family History of the Chief Clans of the Roy Bareilly District*, Lucknow, 1870, p. 47.

65 Kesari being the eldest son insisted on primogeniture,in an open violation of existing rule, in order to succed to the father's *zamindari*, while the father wanted a division of his *zamindari* between his eight sons.

66 *Chronicles of Oonao*, p. 65.

and *qanungos*, especially in *sarkar* Khairabad and parts of Lucknow where the Rajputs still posed a serious threat probably bear this out[67].

The policy of creating and encouraging the non-Rajputs *zamindaris* did not pay many dividends, as the Rajputs as such were very powerful in Awadh. It was thus the policy of extending favors and privileges to the powerful *zamindars* that proved to be of greater help and enabled Burhan-ul-Mulk to build his base in Awadh.

Another new arrangement was of the re-establishment of the old powerful *zamindars* with certain new privileges termed as *ta'ahhud*, under which the *zamindar* had to pay a fixed amount for the contracted territory. Sometimes, a provincial official also contracted a *ta'ahhud*. In the case of the *zamindars* the arrangement was virtually an *ijara* contract which in some cases also involved some administrative and military responsibilities. In this we can presumably trace the origins of the formation of some of the *ta'alluqa* of the Eighteenth century[68] (the origin, nature, expansion and magnitude of *ta'aluqdari* is discussed in foregoing pages).

The firm policies enabled Burhan-ul-Mulk and his successor Safdar Jung to augment the actual collection of land revenue. When Burhan-ul-Mulk was appointed governor of Awadh the income from the land revenue

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67 M Alam, pp. 215-16.

68 Ibid, 217-18.

was Rs.70, 00, 000, after one year of his governorship it increased to Rs.1, 07, 00,000, which further increased to Rs.2, 00, 00, 000[69].

During the reign of Safdar Jung, the *jama* of Awadh was Rs. 1, 15, 000, but with the inclusion of the region of Doab, Benaras, Ghazipur, Farrukhbad, it increased to Rs. 2, 70, 00, 000[70]. The annual revenues of Shuja-ud-Daula in 1766, after the treaty of Allahabad, was around Rs. 2, 00, 00, 000[71]. The treaty of Allahabad in Aug. 1765, deprived the nawab of the territory of Allahabad and Kora Jahanabad, the *jama* of which was Rs. 24, 00, 000 and Rs. 48, 00, 000 respectively. The following treaty of Benaras,

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69 Kamal-ud-Din Haider, *Swanihat-i- Salatin-i- Awadh*, 2 vols., Lucknow, 1847, vol. I, p.39.

70 Ibid, vol., I, p. 77; Author did not mention the names of territory acquired by the predecessor of Shuja except that of 'Doab, Farrukhabad, etc.', however the actual territories, in all probability were, parts of Allahabad (including Kora Jahanabad, Benaras, Ghzipur, Azamgarh, Balia, and eastern portion of Mizapur leaving southern half of Allahabad, which comprised the whole of Bundelkhand except the *sarkar* of Kalpi, and the state of Sachindi in Agra. Cf. *Two Nawabs*, p. 248.

71 *Shuja-ud-Daula*, vol. II, p. 29, cited from Alexander Dow, *History Of Hindustan*, Appendix, vol. II, p. 91.

1773, restored the two provinces to Awadh, the breakup of the total revenue was as follow[72]:

Allahabad	Rs. 24, 00, 000
Kora Jahanabad	Rs. 48, 00, 000
Awadh	Rs. 1, 50, 00, 000
Benaras	Rs. 50, 00, 000
Ghazipur	Rs. 15, 00, 000
Total	Rs. 2, 87, 00, 000

A L Srivastava brings out the revenue figures at the time of the death of Shuja-ud-Daula, in 1775, as £ 3,600,000 sterling[73], i-e Rs. 3,60,00,000, calculating the value of £s at the rate of Rs. 10 each. This appears to be an exaggerated estimation while the estimate of Rs.2, 70, 00, 000 suggested by Kamal-ud-Din Haider (a late contemporary writer) seems to be more reasonable[74] .

In 1775, when Asaf-ud-Daula became the nawab he had to bear the loss of Benaras, Jaunpur, and Ghazipur, amounting to assessed revenue of Rs. 22, 00, 000. The total assessed revenue in 1880 was Rs. 2, 78, 70,121[75].

72 Kamal-ud-Din Haider, vol. I, p. 77.

73 *Shuja-ud-Daula*, vol. II, p. 295, cited from Burke's *Speeches at Impeachment of W Hastings*, Calcutta,1903), vol. II, p. 155.

74 Kamal-ud-Din Haider, vol. I, p. 89.

75 Barnett, p. 173, cited from *Abstract Revenue Account, 1780; Jagir List, 1780.*

Mirza Abu Talib the author of *Tafzihu'l Ghafilin*, who had a close association with the revenue administration of Asaf-ud-Daula records the *jama* figures of the years 1782 (1188 Fasli) and 1792 (1199 Fasli), and made a comparison. The total *jama* of 1782 was Rs. 2, 85, 98, 300 which decreased in 1792 to Rs. 2, 00, 98, 263 (for detail see Appendix D). There was a fall of 29.72 percent in the total *jama* [76]. The fall of revenue, as we know, had actually started with the intermittent interference by the British and for meting their demands.

Thus it appears that total *jama* of Awadh increased continuously from the Mughal period onwards. From 1595-96 to 1709, there was an increase of 59.26 percent in the total *jama* of Awadh[77]. The *jama* of Awadh increased to 85 percent from 1595 to 1755[78]. In the second half of the eighteenth century, with the territorial limits of Awadh increasing considerably, one would naturally expect *jama* figures to increase but at the same time we find a substantial increase also in the revenue assessment in Awadh. The following Table 3.1 illustrates the trend of revenue in Awadh. [Certain adjustments have been made in *jama* figures (by adding constant variable) to minimize the error of territorial transfers and restorations].

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76 Abu Talib, *Tafzihu'l Ghafilin*, tr. W Hoey, *History Of Asaf-ud-Daulah Nawab Wazir Of Oudh*, Lucknow, 1971, p. 80.

77 *The Agrarian System*, p. 375.

78 M Alam, p. 103.

Table: 3.1

Serial No.	Period	*Jama* in Rs. (with adjustment)	% (taking the *jama*of 1737 as 100)
1	Burhan-ul-Mulk(1737)	2,24,00,000[79]	100
2	Safdar Jung(At the end of his rule)	2,70,00,000	120.53
3	Shuja-ud-Daula(after the treaty of 1765)	2,72,00,000[80]	121.42
4	Shuja-ud-Daula(after the restoration of ceded territory)	2,87,00,000	128.15
5	Asaf-ud-Daula (1775)	2,92,00,000[81]	130.35
6	Asaf-ud-Daula (1780)	3,00,70,121	134.24
7	Asaf-ud-Daula (1782)	3,07,98,300	137.49
8	Asaf-ud-Daula (1792)	2,22,98,263	99.54
9	Saadat khan (before the partition of his territory)	2,70,95,800[82]	120.96

79 The jama was Rs. 2,00,00,000 in which Rs. 24,00,000 (the *jama* of Allahabad acquired by Safdar Jang) is added.

80 Rs. 24,00,000 for Kora Jahanabad and Rs. 48,00,000 for Allahabad is added.

81 Rs. 22,00,000 for Benaras Jaunpur and Ghazipur is added to all the succeeding periods.

82 In 1801 the whole territory was partitioned in two halves. The *jama* of the territories retained by the Saadat Khan was Rs. 1,35,47,900. This is being multiplied by two.

The above table illustrates that the *jama* figures continued to rise throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. The highest increase was during the reign of Asaf-ud-Daula. Though it decreased in between 1782 to 1792, but thereafter the increase was by almost 21 percent at the time of the cession of half of the territory to the British, in 1801.

In 1801, the total assessment of the portion of Awadh retained by Saadat Khan was Rs. 1, 35, 47, 900 but the actual collection was not more than Rs. 1, 15, 00, 000[83]. Saadat Khan has been praised by the contemporary British officials and contemporary historians for his administrative acumen. He resorted to extensive revenue farming and strictly controlled the spillage of revenue. Soon his *jama* increased to Rs. 1, 50, 00, 000[84]. Najmul Ghani has given us the detailed break-up of the increased *jama*, total being Rs. 1, 52, 61,100 (for detail see Appendix E)[85].

The *jama* figures during the reign of successive nawabs are not available in detail, though the figures at the time of annexation are available according to the list handed over by Raja Balkrishan to the Chief Commissioner. According to this list the total collection of *jama* before

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83 Kamal-ud-Din Haider, *opcit*, vol. I, p. 201-202.

84 Lal Ji, *Mirat-ul-Auza*, f.7a; 1206 H. A copy of which is available at Maulana Azad Liberary, AMU, Aligarh.

85 Najmul Ghani, vol. IV, pp. 66-67.

annexation was Rs. 1, 02, 26, 265 (for detail see Appendix G)[86]. In another table, the author of *Tarikh-i- Awadh* compares the *jama* of the nawabi period with the assessment of the British Government. He suggests that the total assessment before the annexation was Rs. 1,27,58,824 (see Appendix F)[87], which was less than the British official records of the *jama*, Rs. 1,38,03,731[88]. The assessment figures soon after the annexation, in the years 1856-57 reduced to Rs.1, 04, 89, 755 which got further reduced to Rs. 1, 04, 20, 990 by 1858-59 (the Summary Settlement)[89]. All the figures of the *jama* from the period 1801 to 1858 are given in the following table 3.2.

Table: 3.2

Period	Assessment in Rs.	% taking the Assessment of 1801 as 100.
1801	1,34,47,900	100
1856(Before annexation)	1,38,03,731	102.64

86 Kama-ud-Din Haider, vol. II, pp. 144-149.

87 Najmul Ghani, vol. V, pp. 289-90.

88 *General Report on the Administration of the Several Presidencies and Provinces of British India During The Year 1858-60*, Calcutta January 1860, vol. I, p. 32-33. Najmul Ghani suggests a lower figure of Rs. 1,06,29,074, Najmul Ghani, vol. V, p. 290.

89 *General Report*, vol. I, p. 32-33.

1856-57(after annexation)	1,04,89,755	78
1858	1,04,20,990	77.49

The above table illustrates that the assessment slightly increased in the period 1801 to 1856, and declined after the annexation, but later increased substantially after the regular settlements.

Though the *jama* figures of the succeeding nawabs are not available, the figures of the annual income deposited in royal treasury, available to us, are given in the following Table 3.3.

Table: 3.3

S. No.	Name of the Nawab	Income in Rs.	Increase in Rs.	Decrease in Rs	% (taking the income of first year of Saadak Khan's Nawabi as 100)
1	Saadat Khan (first fear of his nawabi)	1,15,00,000[90]			100
2	Saadat Khan (later years of his rule)	1,52,47,100[91]	37,47,100		132.58
3	Ghazi-ud-Din Haider	1,42,50,000[92]		9,97,100	123.91

90 Kamal-ud-Din Haider, vol. I, p. 201-2. Lal Ji records a collection of Rs. 1,35,00,000. Cf. *Mirat- ul-Auza*, f7a.

91 Najmul Ghani, vol. IV, p. 66-67.

92 Kamal-ud-Din Haider, vol. I, p. 266.

4	Md. Ali Shah (early years)	1,50,00,000[93]	8,50,000		130.43
5	Md. Ali Shah (late years)	1,12,00,000[94]		38,00,000	97.39
6	Amjad Ali Shah	1,20,00,000[95]	8,00,000		104.34
7	Wajid Ali Shah	1,35,00,000[96]	15,00,000		117.39

There was, therefore, a continuous increase in the revenues of the Awadh state under the nawabi regimes. It is, however, not clear if the increase in revenues could be attributed to expansion in agricultural production. It might just be related to a greater efficiency – amounting to ruthlessness – on the part of the state in realizing the agrarian surplus. As long as our evidence on this is scarce, the growth in revenue cannot be related to the expansion of agrarian economy.

Rent:

In the Mughal period, as we know, the state demand was fixed according to the measurement of land. Besides cultivators had to part with some share of the produce in the form of cesses, the perquisites of the

93 *Mirat-ul-Auza*, f7a.

94 Ibid.

95 Kamal-ud-Din Haider, vol. I, p. 387; Najmul Ghani suggests a figure of Rs. 1,10,00,000; Najmul Ghani, vol. V, p. 40.

96 Najmul Ghani, vol. V, p. 198. Author further mentions that according to the figure of Hat Prashad income was of Rs. 1,29,41,818.

agency through which state collected the land revenue. The elaborate system of the land revenue collection based on measurement of land continued to a large extent in the region of Awadh even after the political confusion that gripped the Mughal Empire after the death of Aurangzeb. The weakening of Mughal central control in Awadh however had also led to the rise of *ijara* system, i.e. farming out of the revenue[97], the ill-effects of which have been argued by the historians, but the system also played a major role in sustaining the 'succession states' during the eighteenth century.

In the nawabi regime, the *ijara* system emerged as the most viable system for the collection of land revenue, though *amani* and *huzur thasil* were other systems through which revenues were collected. In any of these system the amount of the land revenue to be collected were not specifically earmarked, it was decided according to the prevailing conditions such as the condition of crops, extent of cultivation, and ability of the *amil* or *ijaradar* to extract the revenue etc. At times, the right to collect revenue even changed hands at the time of collection, with the other person committing for a higher payment, which of course further burdened the peasantry.[98] The share of produce claimed from the cultivators thereby crossed the one-third

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97 *Agrarian System*, pp. 274-76,320-322.

98 *Mirat-ul-Auza*, f8-f11; also see *The Chronocles of Oonao*, pp. 129-30, 137-39; Butter, pp. 100-102.

Mughal share. The author of *Mirat-ul-Auza* gives a detailed account of the rapacious behaviors of the *ijaradars* and *talluqdars* in collusion with the *amins*[99] and this remained an oft repeated theme of the contemporary accounts. The land revenue claimed from the cultivators till the reign of Saadat Khan and Ghazi-ud-Din Haider varied from 38 percent to 44 percent of the produce, that remained more or less same under the *amani* system and *ijara* system. But the extraction from *ijaradari* later crossed 62 and even 75 percent[100]. Butter also records low rent for the reign of Saadat Khan, which he remarks got doubled in his times (1839). The rent of good land was Re.1 to Rs.1.5 which increased to Rs. 2, Rs. 3, or Rs. 4[101]. Initially it was still possible for Saadat Khan and Ghazi-ud-Din Haider, who resorted to *ijara* on a very large scale, to enforce the maximum limits to be extracted from cultivators. Later the control over *ijaradars* weakened considerably and the system became more exploitative and rapacious.

Still it is interesting to note that the rent varied considerably and did not always increase in the manner suggested by Butter. In Baiswara, Rambakhsh Singh, *zamindar* of Daundia Khera, the rent collected ranged from eight annas to two rupees, three and four rupees per bigha whereas in

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99 *Mirat-ul-Auza*, f8-f11.

100 Ibid, f20-23.

101 Butter, p. 54.

the *zamindari* of raja of Tiloi the rent continued to be as low as that in Saadat Khan's time, i.e. two rupees per bigha of old arable land and one rupee for newly reclaimed land[102]. Further, the rent in Kaharpur (in 1850) for the best cultivated lands of wheat was Rs. 2 per bigha[103] that clearly was not much higher than that of the previous regime.

There had been at the same time a constant pressure from the British Government on the nawab to switch over from *ijaradari* to *amani* system due to the anomalies that crept into the *ijara* by frequent land transfers and the appropriation of the increased revenue by the landlords. However on discovering that *amani* system too had its problems, namely that the *amils* were not accountable for the discrepancy in assessment, and had enough scope for manipulation and amassing personal wealth, the British Government soon gave up their insistence on *amani* and preferred the *ijaradari* instead[104].

The incidence of rent was not uniform, as we know, and at the same time preferential rent was also enjoyed by the different castes. In Lucknow, *chattries* paid the least rent whereas the *kachhis* or *Muraus* were seen paying the highest rent as 'their cultivation was of highest order and their

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102 Ibid, pp. 53-4, 110.

103 Sleeman, vol. II, p. 220-21.

104 Metcalf, *Land Landlords*, p.26.

industry and labour unceasing'. Following is the list of average rent paid by different castes in the Lucknow district, recorded by the Settlement Reports[105].

	Caste	Rent per acre Rs.	As.
1.	Chattries	4	8
2.	Kurmis	6	5
3.	Brahmins	5	0
4.	Ahirs	5	0
5.	Lodhis	5	9
6.	Pasis	4	10
7.	Chamars	4	15
8.	Kachies or Muraus	13	10 (alround Rs.8-11)

The graduated scale of rent was imposed on the newly cultivated lands. In this case, the rent started with low assessment and then was gradually raised by fixed yearly increments till it reached to one half of the produce. This was termed as *hissai* (the shares). It may begin with one-tenth, called *dasami* afterwards it advanced by regular steps to one-eighth, one-fifth, one-fourth, and one-half, *athaiya*, *pachnaiya*, *chauthaiya*, *'batai'* respectively. But if the land was of better quality, the rent generally started with one-fourth and if paid in cash it started with one anna per *bigha*, and in the following year raised to two annas, and then in the following years with the annual increments of two *annas* it finally attained the full rate when the agreement was executed[106].

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105 Butt, *Report Of Lucknow*, Part-III, Para-19.

106 Ibid, Part-III, Para-23.

Besides the regular rents the cultivators had to give a number of customary cesses[107]. The *zamindars* exacted in addition to his dues various cesses which were termed as *sawai*, and *gaon kharch*. These were *arhaiya*, *seri*, *menrahi* and *mendhi*. The *arhaiya*, two and half *sers kachha* which was equal to one *ser pakka* per maund for the village expenses and to recompense the *zamindars* for his trouble and expenses incurred on *chaukidar*, *patwari*, and providing protection. It amounted sometimes to as much as a *panseri*, five *sers kachha* or two *sers pakka*. The *seri* (one *ser* per maund) was levied, half for the upkeep of *patwari* and half for the *shahna*, who looked after the crops on zamindars' behalf. The *menrhi* and *mendhi* amounted to one *ser pakka* for the weighing man (*bhurji*), but *zamindar* took half of it. These cesses were levied from all types of cultivators except from Brahmin and Thakurs[108].Besides these cesses, the cultivators had to contribute *anjalis*, which was payment made for the maintenance of *purohit*, *fakir*, *bhat*, *mali*, etc.. In some instances *mallah*, *gosain*, *Ganga Putr*, also received maintenance from the cultivators. The amount paid was double handful of grain taken out of the heap of each cultivator[109].

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107 Ibid, Para-24 to 26.

108 Ibid, Part-III, Para-24.

109 Ibid, Part III, Para-25.

Chapter IV

The Urban Economy

Besides a rich agrarian base, crucial for the formation of its autonomous power, Awadh had a number of centers of manufactures and trade which supplied resources to the state. The trading operations and its prospects in the region largely depended on the patronage of political elite, and the unhindered flow of cash controlled by the business community, *mahajans* and *sahukars* in urban centers and *baniyas* in the rural areas.

In Awadh, during early eighteenth century we come across a number of urban centers. Lucknow, the capital city from the period of Asaf-ud-Daula, was a city of repute accommodating a large aristocracy, military personnel, traders, merchants, *sahukars*, jewelers, a wide variety of artisans and craftsmen. Faizabad too an administrative city, catered to the needs of the court. Although, the importance of Faizabad declined to some extent with the transfer of capital to Lucknow, it still remained a flourishing urban centre during the period. The other important urban centers of Awadh, such as Khairabad and Daryabad, were famous for their textiles. There were neighbouring cities, Azamgarh, Bhadohi and Mirzapur, that prospered through the Awadh trade. Even later, with the growth in Bengal-bound exports from these regions, post 1764 (battle of

Buxar), Benaras and Mirzapur continued to control the large share of trade from Awadh[1]. A shift in the flow of merchandise towards Bengal is noticeable, with the British merchants rushing towards the region of Awadh after the victory of East India Company[2].

Besides these large towns a large number of *qasba* also sprang in the region. The growth of the *qasba* was an important indicator of the nexus between revenue demand in cash and the pattern of settlements. During the Mughal period, there were around 3, 200 *qasbas*[3]. Under Akbar, the payment of the land revenue in cash greatly stimulated the growth of the *qasbas*, at least in the core provinces of the empire[4]. It provided opportunities to traders, money-lenders, *sarrafs*, petty landholders, *jagirdars'* agents, revenue free grantees, etc. *Qasbas* thereby served as important links integrating rural markets with larger city markets. The settlements also received impetus from the men of prominence and

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1 M Alam, pp. 247-51.

2 Ibid, p. 254.

3 *The Cambridge Economic History of India, vol. I:c. 1200-1750*, ed. Tapan Raychaudhari and Irfan Habib, 1991, vol. I, p. 442.

4 Ibid.

important *jagirdars*. These encouraged emigrants to settle in the region, fellow-countrymen and agriculturists, artisans, craftsmen etc[5].

The religious and cultural centre also developed in the form of larger settlements rivaling some of the big cities of the eighteenth century. Such settlements were endowed with the religious grants, and also attracted traders and merchants of all types. During the reign of Asaf-ud-Daula, Salon developed with a large population consequent to the grant made to a *fakir* named Miya Pir Atta. Besides this Ayodhya, Dalamau, Surajpur (Daundia Khera), Kolhuagar (Harha), were the other important religious centres[6].

Manufactures and Exports:

The internal trade in Awadh was in grain, cotton, cloth etc. The principle manufactures comprised salt, saltpetre, gunpowder, arms, cotton cloths, dye-stuffs, blankets, sugar, paper, glass, soap, oil, paint, and indigo (of inferior quality).

Awadh, rich in natural resources and natural streams, had the advantage of surplus grain production. European travelers, in the first half of the eighteenth century, had noted the agricultural prosperity of the

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5 Ibid, pp. 437-47

6 Butter, pp.88-92; Sleeman, I, pp. 233-34.

region that gave fillip to the growth of trade and commerce in the region[7]. Much of the trade however had been intra-regional. The volumes of trade carried through the *banjaras* were considerable and Azamgarh, Bhadohi and Mirzapur were important markets.[8] In 1769, the Bengal government requested Nawab to supply grains as there was scarcity of grain in Bengal and its surroundings[9]. Still the sources do not directly testify to a large scale export of grains from the region.[10]

The Awadh was celebrated for its cotton manufacture. Lucknow was famous for the manufacture of gold lace work (*zari*), brocades (*kamdani*), embroidered slippers and caps (*ghetta* and *kafsh* and *topi*), and its clay modelers, who worked with a fine sort of clay called *chur*, which was procurable in Ganeshpur, Uttur Dauna, and Sara-i-Shekh villages near Chinhat, and in Chinhat itself[11]. The finer quality of cotton was produced

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7 M Alam, p. 254.

8 M Alam, pp. 247-51.

9 *CPC*, vol.II, p. 422.

10 In 1839 Butter informs that grain was never exported from Awadh, but in 1850 Sleeman records the flow of grain from northern and eastern districts of Awadh towards Kanpur. He further records the movement of large number of boats supplying timber, rice and other commodities to Kanpur. Butter, p. 87; Sleeman, vol. I, p. 279; and vol. II, p. 45.

11 Butts, *Report Of Lucknow*, Appendix I, 'Lucknow City Survey 1867', p. VI.

in Tanda, Mau and Jais. In Tanda, a proper bleaching industry developed with the help of British settlers in the region, who, with the introduction of British patterns of table cloth, towel etc. appropriated huge profits. However, dying was carried on, at all the large towns, but the best dyers who were recognized for the permanence and brilliancy of its dyes belonged to Shahzadpur. The dying industry also flourished as products of cotton industry had demand in the market. Tanda produced *muslin* of a fine quality which was in great demand but in the nineteenth century its demand declined in the face of the competition from British cotton industry. Even after its decline, during the nawabi period, the manufacture of Tanda supplied to Nepal, amounted to the value of Rs. 1.5 lakhs, which further declined to half of it after the annexation[12].In Rai Bareli and Jais also fine quality of cotton was manufactured. Both these places were famous for manufacture of *adhoti*. The Jais was famous for its various sorts of cloth. A peculiar kind of *muslin, tanzeb* was the most famous one. In this the weavers had a curious art of in-weaving any design suggested to them which could be verses from *Koran*, Hindi *sloks* or local folk lore[13].

The next important item of export was salt and saltpetre. Saltpetre is used for making gunpowder and therefore the state had direct interest in its

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12 Butter, p. 80; Millett, *Fyzabad Report 1880*, Para-513.

13 Butter, p. 80; Millett, *Report Of Sultanpur*, Para-80.

trade. It was produced in Baiswara, Salon, Partabgarh, and Banandha. The production of saltpetre was farmed out and after purchasing it from the local *luniyas,* it was sent to Lucknow where it was used to manufacture gunpowder[14]. During the Nawabi period, in Rai Bareli district, the turnover of the salt and saltpetre was substantial. The total output of salt was of 3, 61, 361 maunds of the value of the value of Rs. 2, 62, 423, while the output of saltpetre was of 1, 18, 762 maunds of the value of Rs. 2, 25, 381[15]. In the Partabgarh district the area of salt production was 4,408 bigha which produced salt of the value of Rs. 72, 000 per annum during Nawabi rule.

Imports:

The imports were matchlocks, lead, swords, shields, horn bows, reeds for writing purposes, paper, soaps, iron, copper and brass vessels, tin, horses, elephants, Lahori salt, medicinal substances, spices, silks, Muksoodabad rice, *kimkhwabs*, shawls, etc.

The best matchlocks were imported from Lahore, and the best one with gold work on barrels were sold at Rs. 200 a pair, plain barrel cost Rs.

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14 Butter, p. 76.

15 Macandrew, *Report of Rai Bareli*, Para-35

150 to Rs. 100, and lighter one as low as Rs. 50. The Lahore matchlock was in great demand due to its quality, efficiency and range (800 paces)[16].

The best swords were imported from Gujarat, Jodhpur, Sirohi and Lahore. The best quality swords were received from Lahore ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 500 of two varieties popularly known as *ispat*, which was straightened after bending, and *fauladi*, which was not. The swords from Gujarat with straight blade cost Rs. 50 to 60, while swords from Jodhpur and Sirohi, slightly curved, cost Rs. 25 to 30[17].

Shields were brought from Silhet. The best were made of hide of rhinoceros, one hide gave four shields, and their cost of production was Rs. 25. Shields of inferior quality was made of Buffalo hide and cost Rs. 4 only. The *sipahies* posted in that region used to bring them and sell them off at double the cost[18].

Horn bows were brought from Khajwa, and Mainpuri, in the Doab, and Tilhar twelve miles from Shahjahanpur. They were of two forms, *kamtha*, or simply curved bow, and the *Kaman*, made with a compound

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16 Butter, p. 93.

17 Ibid, p. 94.

18 Ibid.

curvature, the horns pointing the same way as the arrow. These bows cost from 8 annas to 1 and 1 ½ rupee, according to the size[19].

The reeds, called *kilak*, for writing were brought from Calcutta. Paper was imported from Kalpi. Iron was imported from Sagar and Nepal. The price of unwrought iron in short thick masses, pointed at the ends was 16 *sers* per rupee, and 3 *sers* per rupee of iron well-wrought into hoes, ploughshares, etc. Copper and brass were imported from the lower ranges of the Himalayas in Nepal and Kumaon, and were sold in the form of vessels at Rs. 2 per *ser*, never being imported in an unwrought state. Tin perhaps was also brought from the same region, and was used for tinning the copper and brass vessels and for women's bangles and anklets[20].

Horses were brought from Punjab, Kabul, and Bokhara, at prices varying from 150 to 500, and 2,000 rupees. Ponies (*tanghans*) were brought from the sub-Himalayan hills, and were priced from 25 to 500 rupees. Though the superior quality of horses was brought from outside but local native horses from *terhi nadi*, in Bahraich were also internally supplied which cost Rs. 40 to 50. Elephants were brought from Nepal, Tipra, and Chitgaon[21].

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[19] Ibid, pp. 94-95.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

Marts:

Besides the daily sales organized in every town, and large village, there were established periodical fairs, called *Mela*, *Hat*, *bazaar*, and *Gunj*, at which cloths of different kinds, corals, pearls, looking glasses, toys, sweetmeats, brass and copper vessels, swords, matchlocks, bullocks, drugs, unwrought iron and copper were sold.

The *bazar* was a collection of shops that opened every day and normally every town with a population of 2, 000 families had 50 shops. The *ganj,* normally a walled enclosure, was reserved for merchandise within the limits of large towns or cities[22]. A number of *ganjs* totalling forty-two were established between 1750 and 1819. The *bazaars* and *ganjs* witnessed high level of economic activities and at the same time played an important role in facilitating the access of the agricultural produce to the towns and cities, thereby transforming the agrarian wealth into commercial or military resources. During the rule of first two nawabs, *gunjs* developed in consequence of the growth of centralized power and were established on the roadside for purely commercial appropriation of agrarian resources. During the reign of Asaf-ud-daula the demand of British tribute led to the process of 'decentralization of the *ganjs*, and the nawab deliberately

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22 Butter, p. 93.

allowed his local revenue farmers to engross more of the total revenue in order to fight off British pressure of enhanced tribute [23].

After the division of the nawabi province in 1801, the central control tightened again. Saadat Khan recovered the commercial importance of the *ganjs*. He placed the administration of *ganjs* under a special *kotwali* under the direct supervision of the nawab. The *kotwal* was invested with the exclusive powers and overrode the jurisdiction of city *kotwal* in matters of the administration of *ganjs*. Saadat Khan, also brought other commercial establishments under his direct and personal supervision. During his rule a large number of *ganjs*, totaling 52, and other *bazaars* became famous. The income from these commercial establishments increased to four to five lakhs while they had not yielded more than two lakhs during the previous regimes[24]. The control of the succeeding nawabs, however, was not uniform but these commercial establishments connected the nodal points to the local trading operations and sustained the semi self-sufficient economy of the Awadh.

The religious gatherings and assemblage, holy fairs, *tirthas*, and *melas*, during the particular period, besides their religious and cultural

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23 C A Bayly, Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars, North India Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770-1870, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 98-9

24 Najmul Ghani, vol. IV, p. 71-72.

relevance also created markets for certain specialized commodities and the avenues for the trading operations were appropriated by the mercantile classes from different regions. The large assemblages of people, sometimes 3, 00, 000 in number, also required the supply of huge amounts of clothings and supply of food materials. In some of these assemblages the amount transacted crossed Rs. 1, 00, 000 and Rs. 1, 50, 000. The state also took up these fairs with concern and administrative arrangements were made for the protection of life and property. In Surajpur *tirtha* the *faujdar* of Dalamau used to station a *kotwal* with two or three *tomans* (each 100 strong) with a six pounder, to protect the traffic. The *tirtha* of Dalamau and Surajpur attracted visitors from distant lands like Nepal, Gorakhpur and Bundelkhand. In Surajpur *tirtha* the most sought after commodity was pearl which was supplied by the Gosains and its demand attracted purchasers even from Lucknow, some of them being merchants[25].

These holy fairs must have played an important role in economic activities of the region. It appears that the customary levies and taxes imposed by the local elites, would have provided with a supply of cash in the region. The merchants, money lenders, money changers, cloth merchants and grain merchants all were provided with an opportunity of profit making. The demand for local manufactures must have supported

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25 Butter, pp.88-92.

and sustained the local artisans and craftsmen, as a large number of them had settled in Dalamau[26].

Urban Classes

The role of caste in artisanal production during the Mughal period could be noted from the existence of thirty-six *shudra* (*paunis*) castes of Jaunpur mentioned in the autobiographical *Ardhakathanaka*[27]. The phrase 'thirty-six *paunis*' had become a cliché during the Banarsidas's (author of the *Arthakathnaka*) age. The expression occurs in the works of many poets of the period. The actual number of professional classes which could be characterized as *paunis* was perhaps not so fixed. Though, a big city like Jaunpur must have contained people belonging to most of the professions Banarsi names, if not more[28]. Abdur Rahim Khan-Khana too refers to a

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26 Ibid, p. 89.

27 Banarsidas, *Ardhakathnaka*, tr. Mukund Lath, *Half A Tale*, Jaipur 1981, p. 5. The word *pauni* which Banarsidas used for *shudra*, is derived from Hindi word *pavana*, 'something received as due'. *Paunis* were specific communities who providd certain services or followed certain crafts and customarily received a fixed share of agricultural produce in exchange of goods supplied or services rendered over the year, Ibid, pp. 134-136.

28 Ibid, p. 136.

more extensive list of thirty-six in his *Nagar-sobha*[29]. Pelsaert also referred to a hundred crafts which covered artisans and service occupations whose clientele evidently included the middle classes[30]. The lists cover a wide and varied range of occupations – weaver, tailor, barber, metalworker, carpenter, mason, glassblower, stone-cutter, oil-presser, sweetmeat-seller, palanquin-bearer, painter, carpet-maker, paper manufacturer, thatcher, lace-worker, fireworks-maker, sword-sharpener, seller of torches and leaves used as platters etc.. The organization of artisanal and crafts production still continued to be based on the basis of caste hierarchies subjected to the religious ideology and state control.

Traditional trading operations, in the pre-colonial India involved a complex relationship traversing from primary producer to the appropriation of its proceeds by the state. The production involved the traditional caste network and its distribution and had direct links with the social groups who were organizing themselves on the basis of caste system itself.

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29 S B Singh, *Abdur Rahim Khan-Khanan* (Hindi), Jhansi, 2018 V S, pp. 352-67.

30 Francisco Pelsaert, *Remonstrantie*, tr. W H Moreland and P Geyl, *Jahangir's India*, Delhi, 1972, p. 60.

The cotton production involved numerous castes like *julahas*, *katwas*, *dhuniyas*, washer man, etc. However at Tanda the *julahas* were Muslim and *katwas* Hindus. Both the Hindus and Muslims were seen as weavers in Awadh eg. *Julaha* (Muslims), Koris (Hindus). The Luniyas were the caste who manufactured salt and saltpetre. Thus, the specialization of production rotated within the confines of caste and resembled, more or less, the one prevalent during Mughal India.The artisans and craftsman of the villages constituted the *praja,* the village servants, *lohar*, *barhai*, *kumhar*, *kahar*, *dhobi*, *dirzi*, *hajam*, *bari*, *chamar*, *mehtar*, *manihar*(lac bangle maker), *mali*, and *tamboli*[31].

The weavers, it appears, organized themselves in corporate guilds. In the village of Dundwah in the *pargana* Surhurpur, Yar Muhammad a weaver and broker, constructed an edifice popularly known as "*Imambara Panchaiti Jolaha*", or "Subscription Church of the Weavers" sometime in the last decades of the eighteenth century. Rs. 4000 was raised for the construction by the fraternity. The organization would have played an instrumental role in bargaining communities' interests and against encroachments on their interests[32].

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31 Forbes, *Report of Partabgarh*, para-165.

32 Millett, *Fyzabad Report*, Para-434.

The opportunities for trade and commerce, in the eighteenth century, led to the growth of trading marts and urban centers. The flourishing state of trade and commerce consolidated the position of traders, merchants and *mahajans*, as we know from our sources. We also find the rise of big business houses in the region. In Benaras, there was a growth of large number of business families. Two important *mahajans* of the time were Gopaldas and Gowaldas who were capable of transacting huge capital as large as Rs. 5, 00, 000 just to save their life[33].

The prosperity of merchants was on account of trade in different commodities. We come across the reference of the commercial Bainses from Bainswara, having banking establishments and cloth depots at

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[33] Gowaldas was very rich but, since he had financed Mir Rustam Ali Khan whom Mansa Ram, the founder of the Benaras Raj, had replaced as the chief *mustajir* of the region, he lost his position under Balwant Singh to Gopaldas. Subsequently, he allegedly involved himself in a plot to asassinate the Raja, was captured, and released only when he agreed to pay the Raja a sum of Rs. 5, 00, 000. initially, Balwant Singh demanded Rs. 10, 00, 000 and it was on Gopaldas's intercession that the amount was reduced to Rs. 5,00,000, which Gowaldas paid within a week's time. M Alam, 'Aspects of Agrarian Uprising in North India in the Early Eighteenth Century', ed. Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Themes in Indian History: The Mughal State 1526-1750*, Delhi, 1998, p. 465.

Calcutta, Kamilha (Tipara), Dhaka, Chatgaon, Malda, Dinajpur, Maksudabad and other places which in the western part of India extended upto Jaipur. Their items of trade included elephants from Tipara, shawls from Kashmir, and other commodities sold in those regions[34]. In Medinigunj in southern Awadh, also, resided some of the wealthiest and most enterprising merchants. They too carried their trade with the aid of their *gomashtas*, with salaries varying 25 to 40 rupees, stationed at Calcutta, Mirzapur, and other intermediate cities. Although the water-trade declined in later days, in its heydays they also employed *charhandars* at 4 rupees a month who were employed on the boats in the Ganges[35]. These merchants prospered through the trade in different commodities and acquired considerable wealth.

Lucknow emerged not only as a political centre during the reign of Asaf-ud-Daula, but it also became a centre for brisk trade. In this context, the observation of an European traveler is relevant to quote:"....The vast sums expended by Asaf-ud-Daula brought to Lucknow merchants of large property from all parts of India, and the trade between Cashmere and Bengal in considerable degree took the same direction. The town rapidly increased in extent and prosperity; and even now, when trade receives less

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34 Butter, p. 88.

35 Ibid, pp. 86-87.

encouragement under Saadat Ali, it did not visibly decline"[36]. During the reign of Saadat Khan the merchants and bankers migrated from the interior to the big business centers like Lucknow, Farrukhbad, Kanpur and Benaras. After 1801, as most of the important trading centres like Farrukhabad, Mirzapur, Benaras, Kanpur went to the British East India Company, they had greater prospects for business there in this period.

Their prosperity and transaction networks increasingly enabled the mercantile class to venture into a number of areas. *Mahajans* and *sahukars* were seen remitting revenues executing bonds of security against the payment of revenues, and also advancing loans to British East India Company and their officials[37]. Transactions of big amounts by these bankers could have been possible on account of available cash reserves and an effective network that smoothened transaction of credits in out-station

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36 George Valentia, *Voyage and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abbyssinia, and Egypt...*, London,1809, vol. II, p. 156.

37 In a letter written to the Governor General, Khush-Hal Chand, a banker, asked for the fifteen lakh rupees that the Company owed to him and also requested to issue orders to officers for clearing his dues. He also intimated the Governor General through this letter that he had issued the bill of exchange for the sum of Rs. 2, 00, 000 for the Madras as requested by the Governor General. Khush-Hal Chand to Governor General, *CPC*, vol. VI, p. 317-18.

markets. The *mahajans* employed their agents at Calcutta to honor the bills of exchange and the system appears quite effective[38].They provided capital and bond of security to bail out the nawab from his pecuniary financial liabilities towards the British[39]. The interests of these mercantile classes, in return, were reluctantly contested by the nawabs in the face of British monopolistic trading operations which ensued after the 1765(see next chapter for detail).

The British Intervention:

From 1788 onwards there was a great increase of British trade in Awadh. P J Marshal has shown that a survey of the customs records at Benaras for the year 1785-86 indicates that goods from Bengal bound for 'the western provinces' were valued at Rs. 17, 92, 326. In 1795-96 Rs. 31, 70, 000 worth of goods passed through the custom post at Manjhi on the frontier of Bihar for Lucknow alone, with a further two lakhs consigned to other destinations in Awadh. While Bengal's exports to Awadh doubled in

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38 Raja Chait Singh to T Graham, *CPC*, vol. V, p. 95.

39 Lala Bachhraj Faqir Chand executed a bond of security on behalf of the Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula to pay the outstanding amount for the year 1782-83 and the subsidy of the troops for the year 1783-84, total amounting to a sum of Rs. 1, 03, 84, 420. Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula to Wombell, *CPC*, vol. VI, p. 328.

ten years, the growth of Awadh's export to Bengal was even more spectacular. In 1771 it was assumed that the returns on the sale in Awadh of Bengali and British goods would largely be made in specie. In 1785-86 goods going from 'the western provinces' to Bengal were valued at Rs. 9, 27, 412. Ten years later Bengal's imports recorded at Manjhi were worth Rs. 1, 12, 93, 453. Allowing for very large quantities of raw cotton and indigo originating from Maratha territory, and for goods from Benaras, it still seems reasonable to assume that some fifty lakhs of the total were Awadh goods; Awadh piece-goods alone worth thirty lakhs were exported from Calcutta that year.[40]

The British trade captured almost half of Awadh with the 1801 treaty as important nodal points of the trading networks were within the British controlled region. Most of the important trading centres like Farrukhabad, Mirzapur, Benaras and Kanpur came under the control of the British East India Company.

European commercial practices were ruinous to local trade networks, and not only were, the Nawabs under pressure from the

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40 P J Marshall, 'Economic and Political Expansion: The Case of Oudh', ed. *Trade and Conquest Studies on the Rise of British dominance in India*, Hampshire, 1993, pp. 473-474.

mercantile interests of Awadh, but their own state monopolies were also undermined[41].

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[41] A *farman* issued by Mughal Emperor Shah Alam (in 1768), is worth quoting here. It is interesting to note that though stripped off authority, he still tried to assert his interest. "As the good of mankind and the welfare of countries has always been the chief study of great kings, former emperors, out of their bounty, benevolence and love of their subjects, were graciously pleased to grant the privilege of trade to several European nations, that they might bring here their own commodities and benefiting the people of this country, benefit themselves in return by exporting the manufactures of this country, and thus promote the mutual advantage of the peoples. At present his fortunate and propitious Majesty has been informed that the Europeans nations bring in a small quantity of bullion into the country and export a great quantity of coin out of it. Since these practices are the occasion of great distress to his Majesty's subjects, and disadvantageous to the empire, paying regard therefore to the prosperity of the country and welfare of its inhabitants, His Majesty has issued his Royal *farman* to all European nations that whatever quantity of bullion and merchandise they bring here, they should take its equivalent in the commodity of this country in return, and not carry with them home more than the value of the bullion. They are also ordered to desist from exporting money without an order from the *Nizamat*. In case they act contrary there to, they shall be caused to pay the *sarkar* a penalty of double the quantity they export and forfeit the liberty of trade which former kings as

The impact of all this on the artisanal classes was immense. The actual figures on the population of weavers in the province are not available, but an estimate of the last decade of eighteenth century gives the population of weavers and their dependents in Awadh as 2, 50, 000[42]. In the face of the decline of cotton industries during nineteenth century the large mass of this population naturally fell on the agrarian economy. A settlement officer observed that all the centers of cotton manufacturers declined resulting in the decline of the population to the magnitude of more than half, in some cases even higher. In the *pargana* Surhurpur the number of the houses of weavers was 600, which declined to half[43]. In Lucknow district the *koris,* a weaver caste of significance, were found reaping crops at harvest times[44].

Although coarse cotton was still produced to cater to the demand of common people, the manufacture of the traditionally acclaimed fabrics and

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well as the present were graciously pleased to grant them. It is like wise necessary that they should give in a list of the goods they export and import to the *Makhsh-Bandar* that it may pass His Majesty's august cognizance. Let therefore all the world, as it regards His Majesty's high displeasure, pay due obedience to this command". *CPC*, vol. II, p. 327.

42 Bayly, p.144.

43 Millett, *Fyzabad Report*, Para-434.

44 Butts, *Report Of Lucknow*, Part II, Para-43.

their demand in the outside market declined in the face of the competition and onslaught of British trade in the region. The demand of the local aristocracy for quality cotton fabric was not to an extent to compensate and save the industry from ruination. The decline was crucial for the thinning of the population of towns like Tanda, Mau, Jais. Benaras, though earlier the commercial hub of Awadh, also suffered the same phenomenon of decline.

The impact of British policies became full-fledged after annexation. The pattern of export and import got thoroughly altered. By the time when regular settlements were complete, the total value of exports increased four times in comparison to imports. Awadh became one of the important suppliers of the grain. Partabgarh 'the granary of the adjacent districts of the north western provinces' supplied 20,000 maunds of wheat and barely besides a considerable amount of other grains in the year 1870. Other than grain a large quantity of oil-seeds, sugar, tobacco and timber were exported to Gorakhpur, Azamgarh, Jaunpur and Mirzapur.

The items of imports into Awadh, in this period, were mainly British cloth, salt, cotton etc.[45]. Thus, cotton, salt and saltpetre, important items of exports from the Awadh throughout the eighteenth century and

45 Ibid, Para 51-53.

early nineteenth century, now started to be imported into Awadh. The producers were transformed into consumers within a period of a century.

A heavy duty was imposed on the production of salt. The duty was so high that if the cost of salt was Rs. 5 per maund, its duty was Rs. 3[46]. The total production of salt declined from the value of Rs. 68, 022, in 1859, to the value of Rs. 61, 496, in 1856[47]. Salt being the source of subsistence for the *luniyas,* its decline greatly affected them.

The changing patterns of trade and commerce after the annexation also required a fresh layout of roads leading to the decline of some of the important and flourishing trading centres and *ganjs* of the nawabi period. *Tilism* reports that new roadways were constructed after annexation, such as the road from Kanpur to Lucknow, another from Lucknow to Behranghat via Faizabad, and the third from Khairabad to Shahjahanpur finally reaching Benaras[48]. We know from *Gazetteers* of the late nineteenth century that when the new roads were coming upcame up the towns and the marts situated along the old routes could not catch up, as their roads had gone into disuse.

46 Forbes, *Report Of Pratabgarh,* Para-77 to 78.

47 Ibid,, Para-77 to 78.

48 *Tilism,* No. 36, p. 1, 27 March 1857.

CHAPTER V

STATE AND THE URBAN CLASSES

Urban classes in Awadh included the courtly and aristocratic circles, merchant groups (whole-salers, shopkeepers, *sarrafa*, *gumashtas*, and *dalas*), artisans, craftsman, professional classes, such as physicians, teachers, lawyers etc. religious classes, *maulvis, qazis, fakirs* etc were numerous and were maintained by religious grants.

The administration of towns and cities was entrusted to *kotwals*, appointed directly by the nawab.[1] A Kotwal was responsible for the safety of life and property of the people. His duties consisted of the enforcement of law and order, the apprehension and punishment of criminals, the assessment and collection of taxes within the city proper, the enforcement of regulations governing the operation of the city's markets, and keeping a watch over the moral welfare of the community within his charge[2]. The administration of cities was later separated from the administration of *ganjs* and separate *kotwalsi* were constituted under the direct supervision of nawab by Saadat Khan[3].

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1 M Alam, p. 67. The Nawabs trying to assert autonomy took the charge of appointing the *kotwals*, though it was customarily sanctioned by the emperor

2 *CEHI*, p. 449.

3 Najmul Ghani, vol. IV, p.71.

It is difficult to ascertain the burden of taxes on the urban population. In the Mughal period, we are informed, that the taxes levied were transit dues (*rahdari*), octroi, and levies on the grain, salt, and occasionally, textile markets. Besides, illegal cesses remained in spite of regular outlawing. State income was also derived from renting stalls and shops in the baazar[4]. The tax structure remained more or less the same till 1800. For a brief period these taxes were leased out but soon Saadat Khan appointed a *darogha* for the collection of taxes. The important change that was introduced during his period was that state claimed the ownership of all the urban property and therefore imposed a tax of twenty percent on transfer of property and ten percent on the mortgages[5]. Later farming of taxes became regular feature. The farming of the income from *ganjs* was a regular feature as during the reign of Saadat Khan the income from farming of *ganj* increased from Rs, 4, 00, 000 to Rs. 5, 00, 000 which earlier had never increased to Rs. 2, 00, 000[6]. Thus it appears that the urban populations were heavily taxed and also the burden of taxes covered the tapping of larger resources from the *ganj*.

The urban classes had, from time, to time responded to the excesses of government authorities through protests and riots[7]. During the nawabi

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4 *CEHI*, p. 450.

5 Millett, *Fyzabad ReportI*, para-511.

6 Najmul Ghani, p. 73.

7 *CEHI*, I, p. 451.

rule it is seen that the protests were registered through the representatives of the respective classes. *Tilism*, a newspaper, records numerous instances of representations made to the state for the redresses of their grievances, and also forms of protests, strikes, and *hartals*[8]. Although, the presence of an urban corporate body to regulate urban life and press for their demands to the state is not very clear, the existence of some rudimentary urban corporate bodies cannot be ignored[9].

Merchants, Nawabs and British:

One of the significant development in the period was the emergence of big business houses in the state of Awadh. The commercial Bainses from Bainswara, had banking establishments and cloth depots at Calcutta, Kamilha (Tipara), Dhaka, Chatgaon, Malda, Dinajpur, Maksudabad and other places which in the western part of India extended up to Jaipur[10]. In Medinigunj in southern Awadh, resided some of the wealthiest and most enterprising merchants[11]. These merchants had prospered through trade in

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8 Sk. Ehtesham Uddin Ahmad, 'Impact of Annexation on the traders and merchants based on Urdu newspapers', *PHIC*, 66th Session 2005-6, p. 856.

9 Bayly, pp. 174-183.

10 Butter, p. 88.

11 Ibid, p. 86-87.

different commodities and had acquired considerable wealth and the community had an affluent look.

We have two important *mahajans* of Benaras, Gopaldas and Gowaldas, capable of transacting huge capital as large as Rs. 5, 00, 000 just to save their life[12]. Both Gowaldas and Gopaldas had their stake in the state of Benaras and they were in close collaboration with the Raja, providing him with a regular supply of cash. They also supplied the cash to the *mustajirs* and, played an important role in the appointment and ouster of the revenue contractors (*mustajirs*).

This nexus of finance and polity becomes more common in the post- Buxar scenario. The ready availability of cash and the transaction network increasingly made the mercantile class indispensable for the state. *Mahajans* and *sahukars* were seen remitting revenues, executing bonds of

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12 Gowaldas was very rich but, since he had financed Mir Rustam Ali Khan whom Mansa Ram, the founder of the Benaras Raj, had replaced as the chief *mustajir* of the region, he lost his position under Balwant Singh to Gopaldas. Subsequently, he allegedly involved himself in a plot to assassinate the Raja, was captured, and released only when he agreed to pay the Raja a sum of Rs. 5, 00, 000. initially, Balwant Singh demanded Rs. 10, 00, 000 and it was on Gopaldas's intercession that the amount was reduced to Rs. 5,00,000, which Gowaldas paid within a week's time. 'Agrarian Uprising' in *Themes in Indian History*, p.465.

security against the payment of revenues, and also transacting the payments of remittances to British East India Company. Gopaldas. above mentioned, also played an important role in the remittance of the outstanding payments of Asaf-ud-Daula to British Government. The banker accepted bonds on behalf of the security of Middleton and Johnson, the two officials appointed to look after the payments of dues to British government by the nawab. However, the banker, it appears, was apprehensive of default and therefore requested the Governor General to countersign it[13]. Lala Bachhraj Faqir Chand executed a bond of security on behalf of the Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula to pay the outstanding amount for the year 1782-83 and the subsidy of the troops for the year 1783-84, total amounting to a sum of Rs. 1, 03, 84, 420[14].

State's protection to the trades was obvious. We have noticed the nawab's complaint to the Bengal government to refrain from monopolistic practices that were ruining the tradesmen and business of his region. The pressure of nawab against the monopolistic trade resulted in the treaty of 1788 signed by Asaf-ud-Daula and the British subjecting them to the laws of land and to the regulations of a uniform tariff. Subsequently the nawab charged high export duty: 30 percent on saltpetre, 15 percent on indigo,

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13 Letter written by Gopaldas Sahu to Governor General, *CPC*, vol. VI, p. 220.

14 Ibid, Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula to Wombell, Vol. VI, p. 328.

and 10 percent on sugar. The Europeans however, responded by replacing this with the trading monopolies of the Residents or by the army officers by a whole series of local grants and exemptions, negotiated by individual merchants with the *amils* of the districts where they wished to trade[15].

Besides advancing loans to native rulers and their officials, the bankers also extended loans to British East India Company, their officials, and to the Madras Presidency also. In a letter written by Khush-Hal Chand, a banker, and addressed to the Governor General, the banker requests the recovery of fifteen lakh rupees that the Company owed him and also to issue the orders for clearing his dues to Fowke and Ali Ibrahim Khan (for the debts of Barnets and others), Col. Morgan(dues from the brigade). He also intimated the Governor General through this letter that he has issued the bill of exchange for the sum of Rs. 2, 00, 000 for the Madras as requested by the Governor General[16].

The *mahajans* were in a position to bargain for not only their own interest and security but also for the agents employed in other provinces. They even used their influence over the state to sort out their problems. For

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15 Marshal, p. 472-73; Scot had long farmed the revenue of Tanda. Colonal Claud Martin had a valuable farm to protect his indigo works in Kora, and another European had a revenue farm for the same purpose in Rohilkhand.

16 Khush-Hal Chand to Governor General, *CPC*, vol. VI, p. 317-18.

instance, the representation of Ramchand, Gokul Chand, Kashmiri Mal, and others were forwarded by the Raja Chait Singh of Benaras in which they requested; first, the redemption of the gold detained by the mint in Calcutta, second, exemption from extra coinage charges they were required to pay in spite of depositing silver in return, third, settling the problem of lack of a fixed exchange standard between Calcutta and Benaras. They also said that in case these problems were unheard they would not be able to make any drafts to their agents[17]. This persuasion or rather pressure was an important tool for the bankers to seek their interest served.

The *mahajans* were involved in giving loans to the local *zamindars* and thereby earning a profit of 50 percent. These profits were circulated in the trade of cotton cloth. In the region of Bainswara, Gulab Dubey and Maiku Lal Trivedi, besides several other small and big *mahajans*, were involved in such practices. In Rai Bareli a few *mahajans* with small capital transacted in local needs. In Fyzabad because the district was prosperous but had little prospect of trade the *mahajans* advanced loans to the *zamindars* at 24 to 50 percent of interests. Some small annual payments were also made by these *mahajans* to the petty officials like *munshi* and other *amla* in Lucknow to protect their interest[18]. In the early nineteenth

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17 Raja Chait Singh to T Graham, Ibid, vol. V, p. 95.

18 Butter, p. 86-88.

century most of the agrarian elites had their trusted bankers. These bankers were indispensable for the rural elites and accompanied them on important occasions. Their respected position was even recognized by the British Residents. The Raja of Balrampur who came to meet Sleeman on his way was accompanied by the *nazim* and his banker[19]. The establishment of Shahganj belonging to Raja Bakhtawar Singh has been praised by Sleeman as the place appeared to be finely settled with good number of merchants and tradesman[20].

By the last decades of the eighteenth century the major part of the financial resources and cash reserves of the nawabs were exhausted in meeting the demands of Bengal government and subsidy of the Brititish troops[21]. After 1801, and even prior to that, the Company itself emerged as the creditable banker for the nawab, Begums, aristocratic elites and merchants also. Between the years 1825-26 to 1837-38, the nawabs of Awadh themselves had advanced the total amount of loan of Rs. 1, 03, 82, 093 - 12 – 0[22]. Sleemam records this:

> "It is a fact not unworthy of remark, that more than three millions sterling, or three crores of rupees, in our government

19 Sleeman I, pp. 109, 126.

20 Ibid I, p. 149.

21 Barnett, pp. 142-159.

22 *Bengal and Gazetteer*, vol. II, part II, p. 469.

> securities, are held by persons who reside and spend the interest arising from them in the city of Lucknow; and that the fall in their value in exchange during the times that we have been engaged in our most serious wars has been less in Lucknow than in Calcutta, the capital British India; so much greater assurance do the people feel of our resources being always equal to our exigencies. At such times the merchants of Lucknow commission their agents in Calcutta to purchase up government securities at the rate to which they fall in Calcutta, for sale at Lucknow, where they seldom fall at all. About three crores and half of rupees, or three millions and half of sterling, have been at different times contributed to our loans by the sovereigns of Oude as a provision of the different members of their respective families and dependents; and the interest is now paid to them and ther descendents, at the rate which prevailed at the time of the several loans (four, five, and six percent.) to the amount of fourteen lacs thirty-five thousand and four hundred and ten rupees a-year"[23].

This feature of the transfer of capital, in the form of deposits with the Company, engineered, either through the coercion or the willing consent of the 'natives' in the hope of secured return[24], might also be a development consequential to the decline of external trade. The capital generated from the agrarian resources and internal trade and to some extent

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[23] Sleeman, vol. II, pp. 171-72.

[24]Barnett, p. 142; Michael H Fisher, *Clash Of Culture Awadh, The British, and The Mughals*, Delhi, 1987, pp. 181-85.

also from the external trade (catering to the need of indigenous court and aristocracy) found an alternate avenue of profit generation. Thus it appears that the generation of financial resources as such did not decline but the mode of its appropriation and its beneficiaries changed.

The nawabs were unable to forestall the British onslaught on export trade and manufacture, and the exports considerably declined at the outset of nineteenth century. With the exception of Lucknow, the seat of court and aristocracy, which demanded luxury products, there was a general decline in the demand for luxury products. These developments instead gave impetus to the local trade.

After 1801, most of the important trading centres like Farrukhabad, Mirzapur, Benaras, Kanpur were retained by British East India Company and therefore had brighter prospects of volume of business in the period. The merchants and bankers moved towards the regions where they had brighter prospects of business (and not due to the coercion, or the excesses of the *zamindars* and *chakladars* as explained by Butter in case of Rai Bareli)[25]. Still some of the other urban centres survived.

The mercantile community either resorted to migration to the neighboring towns with brighter prospects of trade and commerce or diverted their capital for acquiring land or providing advance to the

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25 Butter, p. 85-86

zamindars. After annexation, we have noted that Awadh became a supplier of grains to the other ceded provinces of the British, its pattern of export and import fundamentally altered in favor of the British.

The merchants, initially taking the security of contractors, later became contractors themselves. There are numerous examples of merchants taking over the land of their debtors. The merchants associated with Lucknow court received revenue contracts as this might have also enhanced their social prestige. The relationship between capital and agrarian economy became that of clear interdependence. The state officials and state itself subscribed loans from merchants and bankers. They provided loans to the petty officials at the court, *nazims*, *chakladars*, and revenue farmers. Some of the leading merchants of the time and the merchants of Lucknow acquired revenue contract and managed their professions simultaneously[26]. At the village level also, the landlords were dependent on the merchant's capital and their security for the revenue payments. This provided them the opportunity to acquire land in case of default. They transferred their revenue assignments to the *huzoor tahsil* with the help of their influence over state officials. The merchants turned landlords or contractors could be seen as the extension of state apparatus in the agrarian economy, which not only paid revenue themselves, but also

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26 Sleeman, I, pp. 130-31,269,319.

facilitated the revenue collection through advancing loans to others for the payment of revenue. Besides, they also took over the role of state in maintaining law and order in certain region.

The merchant communities and their association with state made them an important recognizable social community. Almas Ali Khan, the famous revenue farmer of the Doab, had acquired enough wealth and had laid the foundation of Mianganj. He exercised a respectable social status which was recognised by the state as well. The merchants and bankers, as we saw, transacting the remittances and executing the bonds of security must also have acquired an influential social status. Their lifestyle, at times, rivaled the lifestyle of nobles and aristocrats. The merchant's establishments are appreciated by Sleeman. His tour records numerous populous and affluent settlements belonging to the 'agricultural capitalists'. Their initiative for planting of grooves and patronage to best cultivating classes, providing them with implements, has been given an elaborate place in his accounts. Moreover, merchants were also patronized by the British Residents, and sought protection and mediation from the latter to plead their case at the court[27].

In spite of the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the merchants, they were at times subjected to forceful and coercive exactions. There were

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27 Sleeman, I, pp. 80, 92, 325.

instances of merchants being subjected to forced pledges and executing bonds of security. Powerful revenue officials could make huge demands on the local merchants and in case of refusal they resorted to violence and inflicted atrocities. The condition of petty merchants and shopkeepers were more vulnerable as they were more easily exploitable. Merchants and shopkeepers were harassed and compelled to supply loans to the revenue officials, *chakladars* and *nazims*, but in most cases they enjoyed immunities and were a well-protected lot of the society.

The Service Gentry:

The nawab's administrative personnel and aristocracy was derived from elements of diverse social background. During the reign of first two nawabs the indigenous elements had limited representation in the higher post of administration and in the command of army. The Punjabi khatri managed the *diwani* and the nawab depended on hired mercenaries from outside the Awadh and personal slaves. The gosains, who were part of the army of Safdar Jang were *nagas* from nearby areas. The major shift was discernable during the reign of Shuja-ud-Daula who started patronizing indigenous elements. This trend was further intensified during the reign of Asaf-ud-Daula who was criticized by contemporaries for patronizing 'ignoble' and 'low born' indigenous elements into his aristocracy. The high position enjoyed by Makkaa Darzi and the grandeur of his personal establishment

has featured in most of the contemporary accounts[28]. Similarly the rise of Ram Dayal and the title of *raja* conferred on him[29]. The low castes of these men did not matter in high appointments. Certain castes continued to be patronized to high offices. The post of deputy governor (*wazir*) strictly remained within the circle of court favorites. The office of *diwan* did not witness frequent change as the office was consolidated and circulated within the same family (earlier khatris and later kayasthas).The office of *wazir*, however, witnessed frequent changes as it was subjected to British intervention especially after1801. Being a post of considerable power and resource, the appointment involved intense internal court politics[30].

The earlier Mughal elite consisting of *mansabdars* paid in *jagirs*, were greatly affected with the new practices of the regime. Burhan-ul-Mulk's policy of dealing with the *jagir* administration led to the contraction of the *jagirs*. Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula, under the pressure of British demands, further resumed the grants of *jagirs*. Under the same constraints and the pressure and transfer of territorial resources in 1801, the policy was further legitimized and justified the resumption of *jagirs*, with greater zeal, under the nawabi of Saadat Ali Khan. The decline in the

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28 Najmul Ghani, vol. IV, 232-33; Sleeman, II, p. 135

29 Najmul Ghani, vol. IV, p. 239-40.

30 *Clash of Culture*, pp. 187-199.

practice of allocating *jagir* in lieu of salary, adversely affected the fortunes of traditional aristocratic families and their dependents. The grandeur of their establishment in cities was considerably reduced. In its place offices were farmed out, executing bonds of pension against the loans supplied to the British East India Company by the nawab himself and also by the members of the royal family[31]. This resulted in the development of impersonalized composition of aristocracy and royal household, shifting their loyalty away from the court.

The position of the holder of revenue free grants *(madad-i-mash)*, was similarly constricted by Burhan-ul-Mulk in his attempts to reduce their influence over administration. Initially he resumed the *madad-i-mash* grants on a large scale and granted the same to locally rooted, autochthonous groups. Sadat Khan, owing to the constraints of the resources, did curtail the grants, but could not completely depart from the practice. At the time of accepting the treaty in 1801, he recognized the *tankhawah* allocated to free grantees in the form of *jagir* amounting to Rs. 9, 00, 000[32] . It was annexation that hit hard the free grant holders as the British government resumed their grants. The total assessed revenue of the

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31 Barnett, p. 142; *Clash Of Culture*, pp. 181-85. Also see for detail Kamal-ud-Din Haider and Najmul Ghani.

32 Kamal-ud-Din Haider, vol. I, p. 157.

revenue-free grant holders after the annexation (1856-57) amounted to Rs. 1, 01, 329 only[33]. Thus the new regime had no sympathy with the service class which was sustained on an elaborate scale by the previous regime. We thereby find an active opposition to the British by this class in the revolt. They played a leading role in legitimizing the British opposition in the revolt of 1857.

The size and composition of army witnessed considerable changes. The army Shuja-ud-Daula inherited from his father consisted of, besides a powerful park of artillery, about fifty thousand strong, next only to the imperial forces at Delhi in number and efficiency. The most highly prized branch was cavalry which numbered about 20, 000 picked horses, and troops consisting mainly of Qizilbashes, Irani and Turani Mughals, and Rajputs and Nagas or Gosains, and a small contingent of Europeans raised under French command. The mercenaries were hired and they auctioned their troops for hire by the state. Like the contingents of Gosains who were given the revenue contracts in Doab. The Kizilbash and some other contingents were hired through the same method. The composition was devoid of representation from indigenous elements. Even most of the Rajputs and Gosains were drawn from outside Awadh. After 1765 (post-Buxar) the composition of army got fundamentally changed. Shuja-ud-

[33] Najmul Ghani, vol. V, p. 289-90.

Daula disbanded most of the Mughals and encouraged recruitment of locals. British alarmed by his reorganization (also employed Europeans), tried to limit the size of his army. The restrictions were removed in 1773 but nawab never took impositions seriously at any time.[34] British, however, restricted the military strength of the successive nawabs, finally resulting in the almost complete de-militarization of the Awadh state. The number of Saadat Ali Khan's army was substantially reduced.

This process of de-militarization also had other far reaching consequences. The disbanded lot ensured an easy supply of troops to the landed elites enabling them to defy the authority of the state. A large mass of the disbanded sepoys fell back on agriculture for sustenance creating an intensification of pressure on land. The growing pressure on land, accompanied with the frequent fragmentation of landholding, must have gravely effected agricultural production, and the resources of the peasant household.

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34 Barnett, pp. 82-83.

Chapter VI

The Socio-Cultural Life of Awadh (1748-1856)

Court and Social Fabric:

Awadh was a part of the Mughal imperium and shared, even after it became an autonomous state, the values and practices of the Mughal court culture. At the same time, in developing its distinctive regional identity, it borrowed a lot from indigenous traditions. What must have given a distinctiveness to the court was also to a large extent its composition. There had been attempts to bring together people and resources of varied kinds to build up the edifice of the upcoming state. Initially, there was much dependence of the early nawabs on outside elements and mercenaries, of different sort and sources, along with the main chunk of Mughal personnel in their establishment. From the time of Burhan-ul-Mulk, the office of *diwani* was entrusted to Punjabi khattris and kayaths.[1] Safdar Jung further extended this by including low class men of the nearby region in his militia. The Gosians were incorporated, each commanding several thousands of troops, whose superb tactical mobility was greatly valued by the successive

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1 *Miratal-Auza*, recognizes extensive presence of khattris and kayaths at various levels in the different departments of the administration.. 'In those days no officials except these could be credited for trustworthiness and honesty'. *Tafzihul Ghazilin*, p.2.

nawabs, from Safdar Jung onwards.[2] Later at Panipat (1761), this star-naked, ash-smeared Naga sanyasi contingent of Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula had been a culturally striking spectacle for the allying forces under Ahmad Shah Abdali, who having all ridicule for such men, lectured nawab Shuja over their impropriety of parading in nakedness in front of Muslims and ordered them to remain at a distance from his camp[3]. The Awadh court however appears quite inclusive of such elements without such signs of disdain or contempt.

The major breakthrough in policy comes with Shuja-ud-Daula who appears keen on recruiting local men in his bureaucracy. They went together with the Awadh state's assertions on autonomy in this period[4].His office had men from powerful castes of the region. For instance, Raja Beni

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2 The Gosians, ousted by Marathas from their fort in Moth (north-east of Jhansi), had been on pilgrimage to Allahabad where they defended the holy city, forming part of Nawab's contigent, when attacked by Ahmad Khan Bangash (around 1750). From that time onwards had been very much part of the Awadh army. Cf. Barnett, p.56.

3 Ibid, pp. 56-7.

4 It has been held that especially after the experience of allying partners in Panipat (1761), he became all the more alienated with the ideology of holy war, combined with clashes over Muharram, which made him assert his autonomy all the more. Ibid, p. 57.

Bahadur, a brahman had become Awadh's chief minister along with the former office of diwan and his control over the domestic affairs was considerable[5]. Among the chief officers in Nawab's cavalry were Gosians (under whom there were more men than all the others put together), among others, Tahawwur Jang, a native of Kakori, Muhammad Muazzuddin Khan, Sheikzada of Lucknow[6]. Other local officers are noted; Bahram Ali Khan, from an old Sheikhzada family of Lucknow and Sawa Sing, probably a local Rajput chief[7]. Regiment of 3,000 men of red-coat regulars, employed to guard the city and Begam's palace, was commanded by a Hindu general named Bagh Rae[8]. These regulars in the army had been of local peasant background. Around 3,160 regulars ('raw recruits') were under Parshad Singh, possibly Rajput[9]. The local men and from lower classes were systematically inducted by the time of nawab Asaf-ud-Daula, one of the

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5 Ibid, pp. 55-6.

6 Muhammad Faiz Bakhsh, *Tarikh-i-Farahbaksh*, tr. William Hoey, Memoirs of Faizabad, Lucknow, reprint 2004, p.7

7 Barnett, p. 79. He writes that heterogeneity was an important feature of nawab's army. Possibly, Sawa Singh could not have been an immigrant but a local Rajput since Rajasthani Rajputs were heavily engaged elsewhere.

8 *Tarikh-i-Farahbaksh*, p.30.

9 Barnett, p.81. *Tarikh-i-Farahbaksh* speaks of Raghunath Singh and Parshad Singh, each in command of 300 cavalry and four foot-regiments (p.7).

chief architects of Awadh's cultural mosaic, under whom they had considerable presence.

There was considerable criticism of nawab's policy of local recruitment to high offices, by the older Mughal elite. The author of *Tafzihui'l Ghafilin* says that the 'agents of the Nawab Wazir's family have mostly been men of low origin'[10]. 'There was no low or low-minded class, barbers, green-grocers, butchers, fuel-vendors, elephant-drivers, sweepers and tanners, but some of them rose to opulence and rode proudly through the market-places in fringed palankeens, on elephants with silver litters, or on state-horses' (sic)[11]. 'Now naked rustics, whose fathers and brothers were with their own hands guiding the plough, were enrolled in the regiments as regulars and rode about as Asaf-ud-Daula's orderlies and were allowed to go in and out of the *barahdari*, the Nawab's own court, riding on horseback: and round the Nawab Wazir's palankeen there rode in disorderly fashion, on state horses with grand expansions, Bhawani Singh, Moti Singh, Hulas Singh, Nawaz Singh and Maiku Singh[12] the upstarts.

The social motility in the period is evident in *Haft Tamasha's* description of castes, written by Mirza Muhammad Hasan Qateel where he, a khattri convert, privileges khattris and rejects Rajput's claims to status in

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10 *Tafzihu'l Ghafilin*, p. 2.

11 *Tarikh-i-Farahbakhsh*, p.24.

12 Ibid., p.21.

caste-hierarchy (possibly as the Rajputs were the traditional landed classes of Awadh). Similarly, the ruling castes, the Kambos and Kayaths were ascribed sudra origin[13].

It is interesting to note that in spite of these noticeable tensions between the traditional elite and the new social classes, they shared a common socio-cultural and political space. It must have been important for the court to build up traditions of shared cultural forms and an inclusive cultural environment that wielded together the diverse sections at the court and at the same time proclaimed its specific identity vis-à-vis other provincial states, crucial also for its autonomy. We for the first time find the nawab of Saadat Khan commissioning Qateel to write about the culture of the common folk of the region. The distinction between the high and the low cultural and caste groups is obviously, evident, but the fact that the 'low' were also included in the cultural scene is equally significant.

Qateel gives vivid description of the festival of Holi celebrated at the court of Asaf-ud- Daula. A large assembly of thousands of men, all dressed in *zardozi* and expensive stuffs, were a fine spectacle at the court and all of them received generous gifts from the nawab. Fireworks were held at the river-side and scale of celebration was impressive[14]. Mirza Abu Talib

13 Mirza Muhammad Hasan Qateel, *Haft Tamasha*, pp.30-31.

14 *Haft Tamasha*, pp.82-3.

Landani remarks: "The extravagance of their expenditure was immense......A trifle only of this is incurred during the whole month of *phagun* in celebrating Holi, the wazir's carnival, and marriages, and illuminations. Each year five or six lakhs are set apart for these customary celebrations; and similar expenses are incurred during *muharram*".[15]

Along with the courtly celebrations of religious festivals, we find the festivals such as *basant* (spring) celebrated.[16] These festivals are described in detail also by Mrs. Meer Hasan (published 1832), who finds this an established part of Awadh court culture by then. On Basant,' the king holds a court, gives a public breakfast and exhibits sports with ferocious' animals[17]. Qateel writes that there were celebrations and gaiety around the tombs, also visited by the officers of the town, for the performances by dancing girls[18].

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15 *Tafzih-ul-Ghafilin*,pp.48-50

16 These are described in great details by Mrs. Meer Hasan, whose account is an entry to elite household. Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmanns of India: Manners, Customs, Habits and Religious Opinions*, Delhi, reprint 1973, vol. I, p.287.

17 She thinks the amusement of this day was chiefly confined to the court but from the description of the festival by Qateel shows that celebrations were taken with enthusiasm by the elite and the common folk.

18 *Haft Tamasha*, p.78

Meer Hasan's description of celebrations of Awadh reveals out how these celebrations were different from the practices of other Indian states. For instances, on *Baqr-Eid*, the procession of well arranged elephant carriages, troops on horses, camel-drivers, foot-soldiers, kettle-drummers etc. made an imposing effect and all that passed in the court after the sacrificial ceremony, the rituals of receiving the presents, 'nuzzas' and conferring favors 'khilauts' etc. "The magnificent style of celebrating Buchrah Eade at Lucknow is perhaps unequalled by any other Native Court now existing in Hindoostaun".[19] This was one of the ways through which the Awadh state sought to develop its distinctive identity. This is visible also through Court patronage to specific crafts, development of Urdu literature, distinct food culture etc.

Likewise, Muharram, the mourning of Shiite martyrs in the month of Muharram was observed by the nawabs. Sources inform us of the elaborate manner in which the mourning was observed and also the set of specific rites practiced by the elites during Muharram. Elite Shiite household had *imambaras* and prepared well-decorated *tazias* during the muharram. The *tazia* of the nawab was undoubtedly the best[20]. The political relevance of these rituals was, according to Meer Hasan, that "violence of party spirit may have acted as an inducement to the Sheahs for the zealous annual

[19] Ibid, pp. 262-274, 281.

[20] Meer Hasan, vol. I, p.31.

observance of this period" as a means to consolidate the Shiite asabiya and that muharram was a season of social contest 'the two sects hoard up their private animosities and dislike until the return of Muharram'[21]. This emphasize the point of clash and conflict between the two sects, but that which could be confined to a particular period or month, and not which takes the toll unceasingly.

In fact, Shiite-Sunni conflict was overplayed in the context of Awadh court politics. *Haft-Tamasha* brings out clearly the cultural sharing between the people. He writes that Shiite women, in company with the Sunni women had learnt a lot about each others ritualistic practices[22]. Sunnis did *rozakhwani* and recited *mersiyah* in both Persian and Hindi, expressed grief recounting incidents at Karbala.[23] It was a common practice among sunnis, of especially lower classes and also Hindus to prepare *tazias.*[24] Even some of the elite Sunnis participated in the *tazia* procession. In order to show reverence to the martyrs, Sunnis also tried not to partake meat and ghee for ten days and visited *imambaras* on the eve of *ashura*. The Muharram undoubtedly had become a civic function in which people of all communities took part. This participation at the same time

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21 Ibid, p.25

22 *Haft-Tamasha*, p.131.

23 Ibid, p.132.

24 Ibid, pp.132-3.

could not have been, as held out, simply on account of identification with Shiite theme[25], imposed from above and mindless from the point of the participants, but had been through invoking common themes in faith. Mrs. Meer Hasan writes on Hindu participation in *taziyedari* that "Hindoos, even, on approaching the shrine, bow their heads with much solemn gravity; - I often fancied they mistook the *Tazia* for a *Bootkhanah* (the house of an idol)".[26]

The courtly cultural practices could not be regarded as emanating from the court as a one-way process. Perhaps the court was able to build up a shared cultural space, incorporating the Hindu rituals with the corpus of Muslim rites and symbolism by drawing upon the cultural material of the region. This possibly explains the ready acceptance of Hindu rites such as Holi by the Muslim elite at the court and which came to be cherished so much that even when it was officially abandoned by the nawabs it continued with as much fanfare in their houses.[27]

The religious temper of the people of Awadh is described by Donald Butter (1839)[28] in the following words: "the proselytising zeal of the Muslims has indeed long since passed away; and they have... finished (sic)

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25 *Clash of Culture*, p.77

26 Meer Hasan, vol.I, p.48

27 *Haft-Tamasha*, pp.82-3.

28 Butter, pp. 164-5.

by intermingling with many innate corruptions of their peculiar creed, not a few of the superstitious of their Pagan subjects; who seem not unwilling, in return, to adopt some of the religious observances of their victors". When the Maulvi from Bengal (who led a 'petty religious war' there), tried to bring reforms in Awadh, the disturbances occasioned by his preaching induced the darbar to silence him. Similarly his missionaries sent to Salon were dismissed by the Muslim zamindars of the region, who informed the Maulvi that they cherished the customs of their fathers.

There is a description of considerable cultural sharing between the communities. The numerous functions and festivals were jointly celebrated.[29] For instance, Muslims were a part and parcel of Dussehra festivities. In Diwali, Muslim men joined in the play of dice and candles and lamps were lit at home. In Janmashthmi, Muslims too slit the effigy of Kans (Lord Krishna's opponent) and consumed the honey filled in it believed to be his blood. Devotees of both communities flocked in large numbers to the graves of sufis and saints.[30] Muslim marriages resembled the Hindu marriages.[31] There were common beliefs and practices. Qateel describes a number of these as 'superstitions' of the people. In fact, *Haft-Tamasha* brings out a number of syncretic groups of the region, Aghor

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29 *Haft-Tamasha*,pp.69-70,74-5,77 etc.

30 Ibid, pp.88,95-6.

31 Ibid, p.121.

Panthis, Sarabgis, Husseini Brahmans, Shanbis, etc. who incorporated Islamic myths and dogmas in their belief-system and had cultural practices common to both Hindu and Muslim communities[32]. The enumeration of these[33] sects also suggest a multi-religious belief system. The culture, therefore, had been quite an inclusive one, with no rigid and conclusive boundaries between communities.

Sleeman informs us of the syncretic aspect of landed class of Ahbun Rajputs, who were holders of nine hundred and eighty nine villages. A number of them became Muslims. 'They live together, however, though of different creeds, in tolerable harmony; and eat together on occasions of ceremony, though not from the same dishes. No member of the tribe ever forfeited his inheritance by changing his creed, except to retain his inheritance, liberty or life, threatened by despotic and unscrupulous rulers.

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32 Ibid, pp. 36,37-9, 39-40, 44

33 We find in Qateel homogenizing tendency as well, in presenting many of these as deviant sects of Hinduism and is critical of the fact that they are neither Hindus nor Muslims. To make his criticism look more genuine, he commonly attacks their sexual practices. Hindu religion and Islam been presented as the major religious systems in spite of unavoidable detailing of the syncretic forms and shared aspects of their beliefs and practices.

The Musulmans have Mahommedan names, and the Hindoos Hindoo names; but both still go by the common patronymic name of Ahbuns'. [34]

These shared aspects of culture possibly then explain why the Muslims city/town officials, as informed by Qateel, were a part of the Dussehra festivities,[35] as that was important to demonstrate their own grandeur in the locality. Horses and elephants were dyed, and decorated with golden and silver draping and carriages and with soldiers and officers of the establishment in best of dresses and weapons, marched through the bazaar, distributed costly gifts to people of every community. Muskets and cannons were fired on the occasion.

At the same time, there is also a discussion of what the Muslim elite did not take up and considered low. Distinction was made between aspects of high and low culture. For instance, the Muslims elite kept away from the *kathak* dance performed by the boys (part of the Hindu high culture), but it was within dignity to have performances by dancing girls at home.[36] In fact, the definition of high and low made here[37] was on the grounds of certain elite practices of the urban and courtly class, which were distinctly upheld.

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34 Sleeman, vol.II, pp. 97-8.

35 *Haft-Tamasha*, pp.69-70.

36 Ibid, pp.70-71.

37 The concept of high and low in Qateel is clearly from urban elite perspective and greatly accounts for his own biases.

The other groups, lower in hierarchy, aspiring for status, were thereby seen imitating these practices. Specific Muslim variety of *purdah* was learnt by Hindu elite groups.[38] The Ananiyas, Khattris, Kayastha, closer to the court, were regarded as more elite than the landed Rajput class, also on account of the knowledge of Persian.[39] We have found the courtly elite participative in the mixed cultural milieu, but also keen to have a definite elitist identity defined by their etiquettes and manners, language and diction, food and clothing, life-style etc.

It would be worthwhile to take Mrs. Meer Hasan's treatment of elite culture here. Speaking mainly in terms of the aristocratic Shiite household (with which she was acquainted) generalizing it to represent the state of Muslim culture as a whole. She speaks of the inferior and low-traditions in the mix of over-all cultural milieu of the elite, these classes seen mainly as providers of service and comfort to the elite. There is an insistence that only lower classes of Muslims borrow a lot from the Hindus.[40] Qateel also mentions that the low traditions are not worthy of imitation.[41] But what was considered as aspects of low culture was still practiced by rural elite and those considered high in Muslim hierarchy such as the Sheikhs, Sayyads,

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38 Ibid, p.112.

39 Ibid,p.85.

40 Meer Hasan, vol. I, p.296.

41 Ibid, p.84.

Mirzas, Khans etc.[42] There appears a lot of sharing between the Muslim rural elite described as 'low' and the Hindus, not to speak of the lower classes.

The high and the low were fluid cultural categories with space and scope of sharing and transcendence. The traditional basis of caste and lineage got complicated with the interplay of class and occupational mobility. For instance, among Muslims, it is mentioned that the Sayyads who took to 'mean' professions, in spite of wealth fell in hierarchy[43]. For instance, the *mersiyah* readers who were saiyyads, reduced to poverty still retained the 'respectable' status but not enough to get their daughters married to elite saiyyads; enough still to get proposals from the richer lower ones.[44] These lower ones generally meant the wealthy market men (*bazaaris*), but who did not have claims to good lineage-caste.

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42 Ibid, pp.113,71.

43 Ibid, p.85.

44 Meer Hasan, pp. 8-9. Qateel considers the saiyyads who did *rozakhwani* as depressed and the rich did not consider them worthy of company except in muharram. While Hasan allows the depressed saiyyads claims to elite status on this very basis, seen as a pious profession but still not enough to get their daughters married to richer *Sayyads*. Zealous to preserve the respectability through lineage, daughters could not be given to richer lower ones; instead they preferred to let them work for *subsistence*.

Nevertheless, the shifts in the proprietary rights and patronage to the newer elements in the nawabi period also had bearing for the traditional elite; there being visible signs of tensions between the new and the traditional ruling classes with implications for the cultural fabric. A number of taluqdaris, as we know, were created in this period.[45] Rajputs, a major landed class in the region, lost or had reduced estates – Amethias (in Mohanlal pargana), Bias (in Mohanlal and Dewa parganas), Gautams (in Malihabad), Janwars (in Malihabad). Action was taken against them and they were described (also in European accounts of the period) as refractory – recalcitrant tribes.[46]We have seen Qateel, a member of new elite, dismissing Rajput claims to caste-status. The elaboration on crudity of rural elite possibly could be seen in the backdrop of these tensions between the new elite and the traditional landed class.

The response of the rural landed elite to the new elite, though not forthcoming through literary accounts, as is available to the court elite, we find from time to time assertions of the displaced older classes; their ability to forge joint combats. For instance, Amethia Rajputs always resented the loss of their rights and were joined by the Kurmis against the British in the

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45 Butt, *Report of Lucknow*, Appendix II, pp. XXXV,LXXXI-LXXXII,LXXX-LXXXIII,LIII,LII-LIII,LXX-LXXI.

46 Sleeman, vol. I, pp.85-6.

revolt.[47] The local Rajputs at Hanumangarhi, supported the *mahants* to capture the *chabutra* (in 1855) which escalated tensions between the communities. The Muslim under Maulvi Amir Ahmad tried to recapture it. It is to be noted that the nawab remained neutral in Hanumangarhi episode; the clash took a heavy toll of Muslims. We find groups trying to assert through new devises, resented by the powered groups. Tilism reports of innovation in making the demand for Kali puja procession and the British government at that time disallowing it on grounds that it threatened peace.[48] All these were found in an overall environment of sharing between the elites and the common folk of both communities at the local level. The shared culture was not necessarily without tensions and conflict and always fully harmonious.

Women in Awadh Culture:

There is a great deal of discussion on the beliefs and customs of women also regarded as low and inferior but which appears crucial in the

47 Butt, *Report of Lucknow*, Appendix II,p.XXXV. The Kurmis cultivating proprietors (till 1847) lost their rights owing to assessment by contractor and became feudal tenants under Rajput chief. Sleeman considered them peaceful people, who had settled to this fact, but would see their ability to fight later on. Sleeman, vol.II,p.88.

48 *Tilism*, no.12, vol. I, p.4 ,10th Oct 1856.

syncretic life and integrative practices of the region. *Haft-Tamasha* brings out numerous such instances and how they had great freedom in these matters. They decided the cultural matters at home and the men folk were described, to a great extent, as helpless in this regard, compelled to follow their dictates. Their 'superstitious' beliefs, customs and rituals came to be practiced by their men as well, 'under their influence'. For instance, in Diwali, Muslim women lit lamps and candles in their houses, bought clay-toys for children, sweetmeat etc. for the festivities and for a particular ritual called *diwali-pur-kardan.* This was considered auspicious and there was a common belief that if they fail to do so, the entire year will pass in sorrow and resentment. Men too feared the bad omen.[49]

Women thus exercised considerable influence on domestic and social concerns. This, however, in the latter colonial constructs was seen emanating from simply wifely devotion of Indian women.[50] The theme also got developed around the ideal of 'native' wifely fidelity in ultimate self-sacrifice, a sati on the husband's funeral pyre.[51] The spaces women enjoyed

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49 *HaftTamasha*,p.75

50 The colonial construct of veiled native women and ideal Hindu wife had therefore multiple and complex implications, meaning at the same time female sensuality, devotion and sacrifice.

51 Though Sati was banned by the legislation in 1829 and despite opposition to widow immolation and horror it evoked in European imagination, we find

were not simply around built 'devotion' and 'fidelity', as held out, but on account of an overall inclusiveness of culture. The discussion on festivals, Holi, Dussehra etc. when young men went singing round and there were bands of women too, with lots of interaction between them, speaks of society with considerable spaces for women.[52] These duels between men and women such as in Holi allowing physicality and advances were later seen as signs of sexual depravity in the natives.

On the elite women's lives in segregated zenanas, Mrs. Meer Hasan comes out with picturesque detail. As such purdah had been one of the most striking themes taken up in the colonial discourse of the period, assuming variety of constructs: describes as an oppressive system, women doomed to idleness and confinement on account of male's sexual suspiciousness and tyrannical patriarchy. The discourse thus fore grounded the sensuality of female life in zenana and zenana's obsession with sensuality' etc.[53] Hasan,

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some sort of convert admiration as well. It was favorably remarked, equating it with womanly love and also to combat the feminism at home. Indrani Sen, *Woman and Empire, Representation in the writings of British India (1858-1900)*; New Delhi , 2002, p.61.

52 *Haft-Tamasha*,pp.81,70.

53 Cf. Indrani Sen, p.57.

though impressed by the general trend of the period,[54] takes her subject quite differently.

The European distaste for confinement in zenana is there, brought about by the style of narration of how women were denied simple pleasures in life[55] but tried to emphasize more on the cultural specificity of the people that essentially promoted a sense of happiness in confinement. The feelings of pity for these women confined to zenana were therefore unrequited.

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54 Pudah elaborated in great details speaks of a conscious minds selection of the prevailing major themes. A European subjectivity and arrogance of culture is reflected with the natives presented as closer to native (Meer Hasan, I, pp. 320, 327-8). Interestingly Qateel takes a number of themes on women that gained currency- purdah, nautsch, widow remarriage, sati etc. suggesting an impact of the discourse/reform in ceded territories on the consciousness in Awadh.

55 The narration is subtle-'Not knowing the sweets of liberty, would not know how to use boon if it were to be granted them'. The story of a womam who was denied permission to see a river-bridge, she had never seen, is spoken at length. The lack of education etc. is commented upon (Meer Hasan, I, p. 313,315). Still careful not to appear as culturally biased and so a lot of restraint is visible.

Zenana was seen as hub for women's own employments and amusements. 'Female society is unlimited and that they enjoy without restraint'.[56]

Hasan brings out the autonomy of women in domestic matters in these households. Her description to a great deal de-sexualizes the harem, elaborating more on the day to day activities and functions of an elite household. There were considerable scope for cultural activities and organizing festivals and celebrations. Women were crucial in the observance of rites and rituals, in both the spheres of segregated households in spite of their seclusion to zenana. The daily routine for most women in zenana, including that of the middle classes, with the exception of very rich families was extremely arduous, with no scope for idleness.

The culture afforded a lot of movement out of home. Women's camp remain segregated but her outdoor engagements were given due importance and were properly arranged. For example, a visit of the lady to the *dargah* at Lucknow is reported:" she is conveyed with all pomp and parade due to her rank in life to this *Durgah*, attended by her female relatives, friends, domestics, eunuchs, and slaves, in conveyed carriages, in her train are gentlemen or horseback, in palkies, or on elephants, to do homage to the

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[56] Ibid, vol. I, pp. 314-15.

joyful event; the Guardian's wife (of the *dargah*) having charge of these occasions of the ladies visits."[57]

The women also had considerable influence in not only domestic matters but over the affairs of men. The colonial discourse of the period also particularly takes this position for various reasons. A sympathetic observation Fanny Parks, writing in 1850s, of her experience of two decades back, says that 'women have more influence over men in India than in any other country'.[58] Maud Diver (in 1909) valorized as the 'veiled women who, by reason of their worship service, dominate the men they serve as unveiled women cannot hope to do;[59] thereby strengthening the myth of effeminacy of Indian male who could be ruled.

We find number of royal and aristocratic women wielding political power and whose exercise of power was not exception to the system. Besides, women being central in building alliances and bonds between families; we find elite women shaping policies and controlling many of

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[57] Ibid, vol.I, pp.61-2.

[58] Fanny Parks, *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque During Four and Twenty Years in the East; with Revelations of Life in the Zenana*. London, 1850, vol. I, p.140.

[59] Cf. Indrani Sen, p. 60.

Awadh's financial resources.[60] Shuja-ud- Daula's wife, Bahu Begum and her mother-in-law, Sadr al-Nisa Begam continued to play major roles in Awadh. Bahu Begum helped Shuja-ud-Daula out of the financial crisis he faced after the defeat at Buxar. She used her funds to enable him pay off the Rs.200, 000, 000 indemnity demanded by the British and thereafter continued as the trustee of Shuja's treasury. She along with Sadr al-Nisa controlled much land revenue in Awadh. Similarly we find Badshah Begam, wife of Ghazi-ud-Din Haider, Jahan Ara Begam and Nawab Taj Ara Begam, wives of Muhammad Ali Shah, important in Awadh politics. They determined many appointments in the court. Some of these however had to work through their husbands or male relatives rather than in their own name. The opportunities for upward social mobility for women within the separated zenanas were immense.

Women contributed in the literary sphere as well. Though among the women of the gentry, knowing how to read and write was considered a taboo[61]. There was however exceptions and women of higher aristocratic

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60 Michael H.Fisher, 'Women and the Feminine in the Court and High Culture of Awadh, 1722-1856', ed..Gavin R.G. Hambly, *Women in the Medieval Islamic World, Power, Patronage and Piety*, Hampshire,1998,pp.489,494-6,500-01.

61 Gail Minault, *Secluded Scholars, Women's Education and Muslim Social Reform in the Colonial India*, Delhi, 1998., p. 24.

circles received formal education which was equal in quality to that provided to men[62]. Some poetesses find space (*zikr*) in the famous *tazkiras* of this period. We come to notice more women towards the end of 18th century with the famous *tazkira* of Ghulam Hamdani Mushafi, *tazkira-e-Hindi*, (written in 1794-5)[63]. It seems, by the time Mushafi was writing, the trend of women composing poetry had become quite widespread. He mentions several women of aristocratic backgrounds composing poetry: Dulhan Begum (wife of nawab Asaf-ud-Daula), Jeena begum (wife of Jahandar Shah, the Mughal prince) and Guna Begum (wife of Imadul-Mulk, the famous minister). More significantly, perhaps, he also mentions women from less aristocratic backgrounds composing poetry, such as Zeenat and Moti.

The trend continued right into the nineteenth century as is evident from another important *tazkira* of the nineteenth century, Abdul Qasim Mir Qudratullah's *Majmu'a-e-Naghz / Tazkira-e-Shu'ara-e-Urdu*[64]. Writing in 1806-07, Qasim also mentions quite a few women in his *tazkira*. A later

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62 Ibid, p. 25.

63 Ghulam Hamdani Mushafi, *Tazkira-e-Shu'ara / Tazkira-e-Hindi*, ed. Akbar Haideri Kashmiri, Lucknow 1980, pp. 316-18.

64 Abdul Qasim Mir Qudratullah, *Majmu'a-e-Naghz / Tazkira-e-Shu'ara-e-Urdu*, ed. Mahmud Shirani, National Academy, Delhi 1973, pp. 145-6, 178, 257-8.

English work (1923) on collection of poetry by Indian women includes the poems of Dulhan Begum and Bahu Begam. They must have earned considerable reputations in the poetic circles of the nineteenth century to have been noticed by the women writing the anthology in early twentieth century[65].

It is important to stress that women participating in literary activities did so within a strictly patriarchal order. Composition of poetry was not an act of ideological struggle but a means of expression of feelings and thought within a shared normative system. The account of Dulhan Begum by Qasim is full of praises for her being chaste and strict observant of *purdah*[66]. She had, however, carved out for herself the necessary space required for practicing different faith from that of her husband and with a great rigor. She remained the chief wife of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula and enjoyed high position. She is praised for being highly competent in the skill of poetry in *rekhta* (Urdu).

Women poetesses, as we find, were at least from two different backgrounds. The aristocratic women, who observed a rigid system of *purdah*, yet made their presence felt in the literary domain by men. The other kinds of women were the public women, as it were, whose profession

65 *Poems by Indian women*, ed. Margret Macnicol, Calcutta 1923, pp. 36, 78, 87.

66 Qasim, *Tazkira*, opcit, p. 257.

offered them ample opportunity for creative pursuits and allowed them to interact with the patriarchal literary order and to a degree challenge it.

The spaces and patronage to the women performers appear phenomenal. Their presence was commonplace, not only at the court, but at the routine festivities of the elite and the common folk.[67] Hasan, however, brings out separate arrangements for amusement in elite households. 'The Nautchunies are entirely excluded from the female apartments of better sort of people, no respectable mussalmann would allow these imprudent women to perform before their wives and daugthers'. On the contrary, dominies, dancers and singers, admitted in the interiors,' are women of good character and their songs are of the chastest description.'[68] It was later on that the association of elite women with female performers was restricted and their songs considered vulgar and licentious.

The category of unchaste type *Nautsch* girl, as brought about by Hasan, however, betrays an effect of an over-all campaign against the Nautsch[69]. There were definitely hierarchy among the performers[70], but

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67 There are numerous references in *Haft-Tamasha.*

68 Meer Hasan, vol I, p.195.

69 From eighteenth century till early nineteenth century, nautsch constituted a popular form of entertainment during the formal interaction between the British colonials and wealthy Indian. It was later that it was regarded with revulsion, and fear, as sexually threatening etc.

these were high class courtesans who performed on occasions, and were regarded as preservers and performers of high culture. They were instrumental in the development in music and dance styles. They were artists who underwent rigorous training. Sons of nobles were sent to them to learn etiquettes. They received considerable patronage from the nawab. Many of them were patrons of poets, scholars, musicians and dancers[71]. The affluence and organization of *kothas*, especially in the city of Lucknow is brought out by the literary writing of the period, *Umrao Jan* by Ruswa[72]. They organized funds, owned property and paid tax, some of them with largest individual incomes of any city[73], and thus were integral part of the elite. We know of a number of courtesans, who emerged as important

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70 See Veena Talwar Oldenburg, The Making of Colonial Lucknow 1856-1877, New Jersey, 1984. the gradation varying from lower ranking randi, who merely provided sexual services to the elite tawaifs possessing great talent in poetry, music and dance.

71 Abdul Halim Sharar, Lucknow: The Last Phase of an Oriental Cukture, ibid, pp. 131-42, tr. And ed. By E.S. Harcourt and Fakhir Hussain Elek, London, 1975, p. 192.

72 Mirza Muhammad Hadi Ruswa, Umrao Jan Ada: The Courtesan of Lucknow (in Urdu).

73 Veena Oldenburg, pp.145-80.

political figures like Begum Hazrat Mahal, Begum Sapru[74]. A number of these were established poetess of their times.

The figure of the courtesan aroused considerable auxiety among the British in India. In their insistence on treating them all as prostitutes, they ignored their tremendous influence and power in society. The revolt of 1857, and the role of these marginalized group in the revolt, brought home to the British rulers the power that they wielded in society. No wonder, the ruthlessly with which they dealt with them was severe — it led to the decline of the institution.[75]

74 Lata Singh brings out the interconnection between their professional and political role. Lata Singh, " Courtesans and the 1857 Revolt: Role of Azeezun in Kanpur", IHR, No. 2 (July 2007), vol. XXXIV, New Delhi, 2007, pp.74-8.

75 Ibid., pp. 72-3; Kokila Dang, "Prostitutes, Patrons and the State: Nineteenth Century Awadh", Social Scientists, 244-46, No. 9-11, vol. 21, Sep. Nov 1993. pp. 175-183.

Chapter VII

Socio-Economic Consequences of Annexation, 1856.

The annexation of Awadh on the pretext of misgovernment was an issue of debate among the contemporaries, and has also attracted a number of modern historians. The major works dealt with the issue of the legitimacy of the annexation or tried to establish connections between agrarian upheavals after annexation and the revolt of 1857. This emphasis, however at times, also featured the general suffering and psychological anxiety of the masses. Most studies on the post-annexation Awadh, however, tend to rely exclusively on the English sources, partly owing to the relative scarcity of indigenous sources. Although not as extensive as the English sources, contemporary writings in the Urdu language exist. Evidence on annexation in Urdu newspapers has been studied by Iqbal Hussain and Anjum Taban Farooqui, and more recently by William Dalrymple.[1] Still an in depth study

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1 Iqbal Husain, 'Awadh on the eve of 1857: Evidence of Urdu Newspaper', *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Patiala, 1998; Anjum Taban Farooqi, 'The Coming of the Revolt in Awadh: The Evidence of Urdu News papers' *Social Scientist*, Vol.26, nos.1-4, Jan-April 1998, pp.16-24; William Dalrymple, *The Last Mughal: The Fall of a Dynasty*, Delhi, 1857 (Penguin/Viking 2006).

of *Tilism*, an Urdu weekly[2] started after the annexation of Awadh is required as it is quite a valuable source for the study. In this chapter an attempt is made to understand the impact of annexation on different classes of Awadh, their comprehension of the situation, the sufferings and anxieties, on the basis mainly of *Tilism*.

Tilism is written in rhyming prose and in a style which is quite interesting. There are similes and metaphors in the depiction and the narration which have great underlying meanings. The newspaper is frank in its condemnation of annexation and views it as an act of gross injustice. The case of misgovernment as pointed out by British was not at all considered a valid ground. It sites a long list of all that was wrong with the Calcutta government.[3] The British East India Company emerges simply as an usurper with no moral grounds in these accounts. *Tilism* also brings forth the fact

2 The editor and publisher of *Tilism*, Muhammad Yaqub belonged to the well-known theological house of Firangi Mahal in Lucknow. Forty two issues of the *Tilism*, beginning from 25 July 1856 and ending with 8 May 1857, with one issue (No. 37) missing, are preserved at the Centre of Advanced Study Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.

3 *Tilism*, vol. 1; no. 5, pp. 3-5, 22 Sep. 1856.

that Lord Palmerston too did not believe in Dalhousie's arguments for annexation. The paper appreciates him for rejecting his argument[4].

Along with the condemnation of British annexation, there is a strong sense of attachment to the deposed Nawabi regime. A prayer for the restoration of Nawab's regime is frequently made in the pages of the *Tilism*. Though critical of annexation, the author still has great faith in the sense of justice of the London Government[5]. This was presumably owing to the cases where deposed regimes were restored on the intervention of the Company's officials in London. The Court of Directors of the Company itself had earlier turned down the annexation of Rajputana as unjustified[6].

The author is deeply hurt by the manner in which the English had treated the deposed nawab and his family. The buildings and possessions of the Nawab were forcibly taken[7] with utter disregard to nawab's prestige. The humiliation it brought to the Royal house is viewed with great remorse and pain, a feeling which he says was common to all in Awadh. Similarly,

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4 Ibid, no. 25, p.5, 10 Jan 1857.This is also mentioned that a debate in British Parliament also criticized the annexation, Ibid, no. 1, p. 5, 25 July 1856.

5 Ibid, no.17, p.5,14 Nov 1856.

6 Ibid no.38, p.7,10 Apr. 1857.

7 Ibid, no.6, p.2, 29 Aug 1856. There are repeated descriptions throughout in the different issue.

the auction of Nawabs goods (especially weaponry) and the manner in which valuables were sold at throwaway prices[8] were seen by people with a lot of pain and outrage:

> Soude ki khoob garam bazari hai,
> Dekhnewalon ka afsos se kaam hota hai,[9]
> (There is brisk trading, in the market
> The spectators look on with agony)

There are numerous instances of official's high handedness in this matter. The caretakers were forced to submit the keys and disclose the information and the pressure was unrelenting. However, in one instance the official called the caretaker for talks and tried to convince him that the buildings were needed to be occupied for their preservation and protection, which the author definitely does not believe. He is particularly surprised at the soft approach of the official which was contrary to their previous behavior, and speculates that perhaps this was an outcome of Nawab's representation to Governor-General, who had written to him expressing his grief and concern over these developments, a copy of which had reached Lucknow[10].

The nostalgia over the previous regime hangs throughout. The author remembers the pomp and magnificence of Awadh during Nawabs regime,

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8 Such instances are repeatedly recorded in different issues of the newspaper.

9 Ibid, no.10, p.2, 26 sep. 1856.

10 *Tilism* , no.9, p.2, 19 Sep 1856.

its exquisite culture, its patronage of scholars and artists, festivals, the mosques, and the *Imambaras* etc. The British rule, according to the author was an end to this all. The destruction of court and the loss thereby of the patronage to scholars and their flight from Lucknow[11] are viewed with great concern. The author speaks of Lucknow getting deserted.

Lucknow ilm se khali ho gaya,
Shahar viran rah gaya,[12]
(Lucknow is bereft of wisdom,
The city stands desolate),

The memories of how *Moharram* was observed in Lucknow during the Nawabi regime is also recalled in the pages of the *Tilism* with nostalgia. Under the British rule, the *Imambaras* naturally looked desolated, a subject which is oft-repeated.

Ab ki bar taqdeer ka pher hai,
Inquilab-I zamana se andher hai,
Imambaron men andhera hai[13],
(The destiny has taken an adverse turn,
The change in time has brought gloom,
Imambaras wear a deserted look.)

British rule had led to the loss of patronage to the dependents of the old ruling house, disbandment of Nawab's regiments and overall

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11 Ibid, no. 11, p. 1, 3 October 1856; Ibid, no. 22, p. 1, 19 Decenber 1856.

12 Ibid, no. 11, p. 1, 3 October 1856.

13 Ibid, no.6, p.2, 29 Aug 1856,; Ibid, no.8, p.2, 12 Sep 1856.

unemployment. Many officials recognized for their services and capabilities, now finding difficulty left the city[14]. The author informs us that there was government's proposal to give pensions to the Nawab's dependents, an amount equivalent to their previous salaries. A measure which was noble but these were not regularly released[15]. The disbandment of Nawab's regiments was more complete. An unjustified demand, according to the author, was put by the government that if a trooper failed to deposit Rs. 150 for the horse, he will lose the job[16]. The soldiers were compelled to leave with six month salary while the older ones were pensioned off. The author however is critical of those who had accepted jobs with the government soon after annexation and mocks at its futility as they too lost their jobs, with the government cutting down the staff. He writes

> Haif unlogon per jinhon ne anjam par nazar na dali,
> Inquilab-I Sultanat hote hi Angrezi naukri qabool kar li,
> Dil ko zara waswasa na hua,
> Namak ka mutlaq pas na hua,
> Faida kuch na uthaya hai badnam hue,[17]
> (Shame on those who could not foresee the consequences,
> With the change of regime, they accepted the English services,
> The conscience was not moved
> They did not pay the price of loyalty,

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14 Ibid, no.15,p. 2, 31 Oct 1856,Ibid, no.25,p.1,10 Jan 1856.

15 Ibid, no.1, p.5, 25 July 1856; Ibid, no.21, p.3, 12 Dec 1856.

16 Ibid, no.4, pp.2-3,15 Aug 1856; Ibid, no.5, p.3, 22 Aug 1856.

17 Ibid, no.4, p.3,15 Aug 1856.

And, still failed to reap any benefit, and instead gained notoriety.)

The dislike for the government led to the spread of rumors against it. The apprehension that the English were deliberately trying to defile the religion of both Hindus and Muslims appear repeatedly in the *Tilism*. In government hospitals, patients suspected that the Christian doctors were trying to defile their religion through the medicines[18]. The general atmosphere was getting surcharged with the rumor of the greased cartridges (made up animal fat) and flour mixed with bone dust (reported in later issues)[19]. Some minor sepoy outbreaks at different places are also reported[20].

The impact of annexation on agrarian economy has been studied in detail by the scholars. The effect of Summary Settlement on *talluqdqrs* and its implications for the overall developments in Awadh leading to the bloody resistance by the people were analyzed by Metcalf[21] and Rudrangshu Mukherji[22]. A large number of *talluqdqrs* lost their possessions and

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18 Ibid, no.38, p.3, 10 Apr 1857.

19 Ibid, no.41, pp.1-2, 1 May 1857.

20 Ibid, no.42, pp.1-2, 8 May 1857.

21 Metcalf, pp. 168-174.

22 Rurangshu Mukherjee, *Awadh in Revolt 1857-58 A Study of Popular Resistance*, 1984, pp. 32-63.

customary cesses. The Summary Settlement witnessed gross over assessment in certain pockets, although the overall assessment was reduced. The regions of over assessment and *talluqdar's* losses falling within the axis have been termed as areas of '*talluqdar*-peasant complimentarility'.

In this regard we find in *Tilism* a concern for the dispossessed. *Tilism* records with much detestation the loss of *zamindari* and many newcomers on the scene. The author however informs as a matter of some relief that the government offered to reinstate the zamindars who could now pay a higher amount than the assessed demand as a price. The measure was seen as an act of justice that would bestow lost estates to which they belonged and remove usurpers from the scene[23].

The annexation had also adversely affected the peasant cultivators and agricultural laborers. The peasants and cultivators were subjected to the strict methods of the British revenue collection with no protection whatsoever especially in moments of crisis that had been with them in the previous times with *talluqdars* as their lords. Besides, there was no increase in the wages of the agricultural labour in the period corresponding to the magnitude of price rise. After the annexation there was only marginal

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23 *Tilism*, no.3, pp.1-2, 8 Aug 1856.

increase in the wages of artisans and the agricultural laborer had to bear the misery[24].

Regarding the general condition of law and order, the author of *Tilism* has at many places deliberated upon the problems of increasing lawlessness, and makes a systematic argument that instances of thefts, murders, etc. had increased in the period after annexation. With the Nawab's Government gone, people could not feel any authority over them[25]. The unemployment[26] and rising prices had worsened the condition of people. Hoarding had led to price-rise. Still the author brings out the numerous efforts of the government to bring order. He appreciates the British rule for disallowing religious innovations in maintaining order[27]. Alongside the cases of thefts are also mentioned the instances when the thieves were caught and punished. The *thanedars* were made responsible for the crimes committed in their areas. Efficient officers were promoted and inefficient demoted[28]. A complaint against a *Darogha* charging illegal cess from

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24 Forbes, *Report of Partabgarh*, para-158 (pp.68-68).

25 Ibid, no.17,p.5, 14 Nov 1856.

26 Ibid, no.42, p.3, 8 May 1857, crisis of unemployment was so acute that the qualification for job was immaterial.

27 Ibid, no.11, p.4, 3 Oct 1856, Ibid, no.12, p.4, 10 Oct 1856, Ibid, no.6, p.5, 29 Aug 1856, Ibid, no.13, p.3, 17 Oct 1856.

28 Ibid, no.38, p.1, 10 Apr 1857.

shopkeepers was heard and he punished[29]. There were attempts by the government to break strikes and resolve the matter[30]. British government is seen as prompt in dealing with forgery cases[31]. It is strict with the *Chowkidars* and the *Barqandaz* who oppress people, a number of them got punished and the *Thanedars* were made responsible for their act[32]. Still the government also levied a tax on houses, in spite of great discontentment of the people, the proceeds from the new tax (at one place, Manikpur) was actually intended for maintaining *Chowkidars*[33].

The annexation was thoroughly resented by the people of Awadh and the traders and merchants, as part of that society, felt no different. The growing lawlessness and unemployment created by the disappearance of Awadh court also deeply affected the trade and commerce. The insecurity of life and property is frequently mentioned in *Tilism*. Instances of thefts,

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29 Ibid, no.39, p.1, 18 Apr 1857.

30 Ibid, no.34, pp.1-2, 13 March 1857. The case reported was of strike called by *sarrafs* as the government had imprisoned a *sarraf* for forgery. However the government yielded tried to bring a compromise which was actually seen by the author as a step that bargained peace for justice, Ibid, no.36, p.3, 28 March 1857.

31 Ibid, no.18, p.3, 21 Nov 1856.

32 Ibid, no.1, p.3, 25 July 1856.

33 Ibid, no. 35, p. 3, 20 March 1857.

looting, highway robbery, etc. seemed to have multiplied after the annexation. All these developments did affect the profits of local petty merchants. The big merchants still closely associated with the state offered loan and cash advances to the state. In one issue of the *Tilism*, dated 10 October 1856, we find a *mahajan* calling back the loans he had advanced to the officials of nawab[34].

At the same time, under conditions of growing lawlessness caused by the collapse of the nawabi regime, merchants were increasingly resorting to illegal and under-hand dealings to make profits. *Tilism* reports that in the period of uncertainty following annexation there was a decline in morals and values of merchants and craftsmen. Several cases of cheating by goldsmiths[35] and *sarrafs*[36] were reported in *Tilism*. It repeatedly reports the scarcity of grains caused by the *banias* and grain merchants, and the practice of hoarding grains to make quick profits[37]. There was consequently some tension, between the merchants and common people. Instances of hostility

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34 Ibid, no. 12, p. 4, 10 October 1856.

35 Ibid, no. 18, p. 3, 21 November 1856.

36 Ibid, no. 34, p. 1-2, 13 March 1857.

37 Ibid, no. 22, p. 2, 19 December 1856; Ibid, no. 23, pp. 1-2, 26 December 1856; Ibid, no. 33, pp. 1-2, March 1857.

between them are also mentioned in our sources[38]. Some merchants did make good profits by taking advantage of the uncertain times. The more corrupt could make as much as they could in the period of uncertainty as there was no uniform price, no check on weights and measures, and no state control over merchants' activities[39]. In addition there was a huge inflation in the economy which benefited some merchants at the expense of society as a whole. For instance, the price of wheat in the month of August 1856 was reported to be 24 *seers* per rupee[40], by December 1856 it had risen 15 *seers* per rupee (of wheat flour)[41], and by March 1857 it had increased even further to 13 *seers* per rupee (of wheat flour)[42]. [Following table: I a, b & II, records the prices current in the markets at Lucknow in the month of August 1856]. However the high price of grains in cities was also caused, among the reasons, by the British troops stationed in Awadh.

Tilism exhorts the government to declare rate list of grains in order to stabilize the prices, and ensure its enforcement[43], to exempt duties on

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38 Ibid, no. 34, pp. 1-2, 13 March 1857.

39 Ibid, no. 22, p. 2, 19 December 1856; Ibid, no. 23, pp. 1-2, 26 December 1856.

40 Ibid, no. 4, p. 8, 15 August 1856.

41 Ibid, no. 23, pp. 1-2, 26 December 1856.

42 Ibid, no. 33, p. 4, 2 March 1857.

43 Ibid, no. 22, p. 2, 19 December 1856.

grains[44], and to check the malpractices of *banias*, *vayaparies*, and *mustajirs* (tax farmers)[45].

Table: I a[46]

Serial no.	Articles	*Seers* per rupee
1.	wheat	24
2.	Pulse (Vetch)	27
3.	Pulse (Arhar)	24
4.	Pulse (Mash)	25
5.	Pulse (Mung)	20
6.	Mung	30
7.	Pulse (Masur)	19
8.	Rice (Battisa)	17
9.	Banse	15
10.	Alsi	17
11.	Mustard	18
12.	Salt	6 ½
13.	Gur	18

44 Ibid, no. 20, p. 3, 5 December 1856.

45 Ibid, no. 23, pp. 1-2, 26 December 1856; Ibid, no. 33, p. 4, 2 March 1857.

46 Ibid, no. 4, p. 8, 15 August 1856.

Table: I b

S. No.	Articles	Price per *maunds*	
		Rupees	Annas
1.	Oil	8	0
2.	Ghee	17	0
3.	Sugar	10	8

Table: II

Statement showing the price of grain at Lucknow from the year 1851-60[47].

Year	Article			
	Arhar	Barley	Peas	Wheat
	Seer per rupee	*Seer* per rupee	*Seer* per rupee	*Seer* per rupee
1851	27 ½	27 ½	34 ½	27
1852	41	59	47 ½	25
1853	42 ½	32 ½	41	21
1854	35	46	34	27 ½
1855	30	44 ½	29 ½	28
1856	29 ½	28	29 ½	20 ½
1857	24 ½	27	21 ½	16 ½
1858	29 ½	26 ¼	27 ½	21 ½
1859	29 ½	29 ½	27 ½	21 ½
1860	22 ½	40 ½	31 ½	28

47 *Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh*, II, pp. 326-27.

Tax farming was a much hated practice. The realization from the market farmed out to the highest bidders being quite common at this time. The contractors had to pay three months advance for the contract, as the official advertisement inviting tenders for the contracts specified[48], the contractors (*mustajirs*) further subcontracting the right at a higher payment[49]. The contractors usually resorted to extreme and coercive methods to make good their profits. *Tilism* reports of the representations sent to the Deputy Commissioner against the collections in such manner[50]. The problem was accentuated for traders when they had to pay duties at two places for the same goods. For instance, it was reported that timber merchants were paying duties at Behramghat and then again at the city market to the respective contractors at these places, creating much resentment[51]. *Tilism* reports the instance of duty levied on the pontoon bridge, collected regressively by the contractors against which the traders protested along with the common folk[52]. Similarly the cart drivers (*garibands*) represented against the contractor for the increased collection

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48 *Tilism*, no. 1, p. 3, 25 July 1856.

49 Ibid, no. 5, p. 5, 22 August 1856.

50 Ibid, no. 3, p.2, 8 August 1856; Ibid, no. 5, p. 5, 22 August 1856; Ibid, no. 16, p. 2, 7 November 1856; Ibid, no. 23, p. 2, 2 March 1857.

51 Ibid, no. 5, p. 5, 22 August 1856.

52 Ibid, no. 33, p. 2, 2 March 1857.

(from three paisa per rupee to one anna per rupee, almost double), to the Deputy Commissioner, and appealed, that the movements of official transport has drastically affected their income[53].

Besides the manner of collection the revised rates of duties and taxes were problematic for many (see Table: III a & b below[54]). Though, the government had also abolished some of the earlier duties, such as the ground rent on the stalls in the markets[55]. New shops were exempted[56]; duties on *sabzi mandi* and duties on cloth manufactured locally in the city were abolished[57]. But we know of case that *darogai* in Pattinala and Raja ki Mandi in Lucknow still continued to levy the ground rent from the shopkeepers against which they represented to the Chief Commissioner[58]. The revised taxes as *Tilism* brings out affected the petty tradesmen greatly. Upon the *dohatri* cloth was levied about 5 percent sales tax[59] and up to Rs.

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53 Ibid, no. 16, p. 2, 7 November 1856. the collection of the tax was stopped afterwords.

54 Ibid, no. 1, p. 3, 25 July 1856.

55 Ibid, no. 2, p. 5, 5 December 1856.

56 Ibid, no. 20, p. 2, 8 August 1856.

57 Ibid, no. 1, p. 3, 25 July 1856.

58 Ibid, no. 39, p. 1, 18 April 1857. the illegal collection was stopped afterwords.

59 Ibid, no. 3, p. 2, 8 August 1856.

15 on each cart/wagon of betel leaf[60], which was much beyond the paying capacity of the respective dealers, as they put it.

Table: III a.

Revised rates of duties:

Serial no.	Commodity	Tax
1.	Food grains of all quality per pack	Rs. 1
2.	Betel leaf (Paan) per wagon/ cart *chauburd*	Rs. 15

Table: III b.

Charges of Transporters:

S. no.	Commodity	Tax (%)
1.	Garments white and silky and *pashmina* all types	5
2.	Dry fruits [?] all types	3
3.	Grocery all types	3
4.	*Jauhari baza kundla tarkashi*	3
5.	Cattle, elephants, horse, camel, sheep, bull per head	1
6.	Wood of all type except firewood	10

The layout of the city was also planned differently by the new rulers. The new city plan in order to broaden roads and have new government buildings, razed to ground a number of buildings and shops of merchants. In some cases, compensation was paid to them, but it appears from *Tilism* that

60 Ibid, no. 1, p. 3, 25 July 1856; Ibid, no. 5, p. 5, 22 August 1856.

these were often quite meagre, compared to the actual value of the assets. The authorities with a view to keep the city clean, had ordered the slaughter of cows outside the city, affecting the butchers trade (in Baluchpura)[61], as they had to move out of the area.

Following the annexation, Lucknow was also connected via roads to other regions of Awadh. *Tilism* reports of the planning of these major roadways at that time to facilitate the trade and commerce. These were the road from Kanpur to Lucknow, another from Lucknow to Behramghat via Faizabad, and the third from Khairabad to Shahjahanpur finally reaching Benaras[62]. We know from *Gazetteers of Oudh* (1878) that while the new roads came up, the towns and the marts situated along the old routes did not catch up, as these roads had gone into disuse.

The response of the merchants to the new system of rule appears to be quite organized. They were in many places able to put up their case to the new authorities in a concerted manner. We find frequent representations by them. Besides the newspaper also reports many instances of merchants taking to strikes and *hartals* as a means of resistance against the state. For instance, protesting against the levy of duty on timber at two places, the dealers at first represented to the authorities and then resorted to strike to

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61 Ibid, no. 3, p. 2, 8 August 1856.

62 Ibid, no. 36, p. 1, 27 March 1857.

press their demand[63]. Another strike was called by the *sarrafs* who were protesting against the arrest of a fellow *sarraf* (arrested for cheating)[64]. Strikes were increasingly resorted to by the shopkeepers to express their grievances every time[65].

The authorities did sometimes respond favorably to some of their demands especially those that concerned the abolition of illegal cesses or duties[66]. In most other cases they were indifferent to the representation of the merchants especially when it directly concerned their own interest. However the British did try to increase the volume of trade. The ground rent on the stalls in the market was abolished, possibly to encourage local merchants. Similarly the duty on bridge was given up, with a view to encourage trade activities. The cesses on food grains, *dohatri* cloth, betel, and timber continued as before. Some encouragement indeed was provided to local merchants by the colonial state, but these were indeed far too small to arrest the decline in their position as a class.

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63 Ibid, no. 5, pp. 5-6, 22 August 1856.

64 Ibid, no. 34, pp. 1-2, 13 March 1857.

65 Ibid, no. 34, pp. 1-2, 13 March 1857.

66 Ibid, no. 16, p. 4, 7 November 1856, collection from *gariban* was stopped; Ibid, no. 39, p. 1, 18 April 1857, illegal collection of the ground rent on the stall was stopped.

The author of *Tilism* also reports in detail, the anxiety of the common people over the new city plan. This meant tremendous displacement of population when spaces were to be provided for the construction of government buildings and for laying out broad roads.[67] there was emphasis on cleanliness of the city[68]. The people however appear to resent these changes. A hospital was to be built but the houses in the vicinity were ordered to be demolished in order to provide space to the hospital[69]. The road construction on such a scale threatened many of the old and important buildings of Lucknow- the mosques, *Imambaras*, and the royal buildings[70]. It is detested that the new rulers carried out their plan with great indifference to the sentiments of the people. The mosques and *Imambaras* were razed to the ground simply to give a new look to the city. Many people lost their

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67 *Tilism*, no.9, pp.9-10, 119 Sep 1856.

68 Ibid, no.3, p.2, 8 Aug 1856. a ban on the butchers of Baluchpur on the slaughter of the cow within the city intended to keep the city clean and free from diseases. An order was also issued to close the opening of toilets (sandas) to maintain the cleanliness which created a hue and cry in the Lucknow. Later the modified order restricted the closer on the main road only with the advice to properly canalize the flow of waste from the opening of subway. Ibid, no.6, pp.3-4, 20 Aug 1856.

69 Ibid , no.1, p.1, 25 July 1856.

70 Ibid, no.17, p.1, 14 nov 1856, Ibid no.34, p.1, 13 March 1856.

homes. The author informs that sometimes compensation was paid to them, but was only nominal.[71] Some of the royal buildings, however, such as- Badshah Manzil, Chhatr Manzil etc. were protected from demolition[72]. The fear of skirmishes on the issue had been there[73]. The British Government's establishments at Lucknow and stationing of its officials at the various important buildings of the city, some even at the mosques created much resentment among the people[74]. We thereby have much information from *Tilism* that makes clear the context in which the people as a whole rose in arms against the British in 1857.

The present chapter has focused on *Tilism*, a relatively neglected source, in studying the popular perception of the British annexation of Awadh. Its evidence indeed crucially differs from the details found in the extant English sources. In focusing on *Tilism*, the chapter has, hopefully, presented the indigenous perspective to the annexation of Awadh in 1856.

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71 Ibid, no.3, p.2, 8 Aug 1856, in Amber Khana Rs.71 was paid as compensation against the value of Rs.500.

72 Ibid, no.10, p.2, 26 Sep 1856.

73 Ibid, no.27, p.2, 23 Jan 1857

74 Ibid, no.1, p.2, 25 July 1856.

Conclusion

The considerable weakening of the imperial power in the eighteenth century led to strengthening of the power of the governor in the province. It had become increasingly clear to the governors that they had to withdraw to their own domains, when the deterioration at the centre appeared imminent. An autonomous state must have appeared realizable to the nobles. as they could see the centre's influence and control beginning to dwindle and unable to reach even the nearby regions. The governors of Awadh consolidated their rule, built a solid base for an autonomous state and progressively assumed independence. At the same time the early nawabs tried to hold the office of wazir in the Mughal court for ceremonial prestige involved that was crucial for the• Awadh nawabs in maintaining their legitimacy in the region.

The *subedari* of Burhan-ul-Mulk and Safdar Jang restored the administrative efficiency of the *suba*. They were able to deal with challenges of the *subedari* and successfully carved a viable state in Awadh. With the weakening of imperial authority, the governor could deal with the jagirdars on his own terms. The powers of *madad-i-maash* grantees were also reduced, resuming many of their grants. But the policy was later given up as there was a need to win local support. The nawabs firmly dealt with the rebellious zamindars and their influence was counterbalanced by

promoting non-Rajput elements in refractory Rajput zamindaris. Where these measures were not effective, the rebellious zamindars were incorporated and pacified with specific concessions. The local ruling classes gave their support to the new regime on account of the career opportunities now available with the indigenous rule.

The political and administrative stability helped considerably in expanding the resource base of the region. We find the agriculture expanding in the eighteenth century, and the reports of the period refer to the fertility of soil in Awadh. The cropping pattern also much impressed the contemporary observers. But from early nineteenth century we keep hearing a general complaint about diminishing productivity of the soil perhaps on account of exhaustion of soil or lack of the improvement in methods of cultivation and irrigation. It is however important to note that the land revenue witnessed increase in the Awadh throughout the nawabi rule along with an increase in the area under cultivation. It is not clear if the increase in the revenue could be attributed to a distinct expansion in agricultural production. It might just as well be related to a greater efficiency – amounting to ruthlessness – on the part of the state in realizing the agrarian surplus or it might as well go to the intermediaries, as was the case with the eventual weakening of nawab's authority with the growing British intervention.

It is to be noted that as the ascendance of the English company grew in Awadh, nawab Asaf-ud- Daula's policy of 'decentralization' had far-reaching implication on an over-all revenue administration, allowing the agrarian classes to appropriate revenue resources. Some of the taluqdars rose to considerable prominence, acquiring land and enlarging their holdings. The attempts of Saadat Ali Khan, despite constraints of the treaty of 1801, to strengthen his grip over the taluqdars, could not arrest the appropriation of land by these classes and enlargement of their holdings especially in the period after him. The inability of Ghazi-ud-Din Haider, and his successors down to Wajid Ali Shah to assert power and authority in the region allowed the landholders to consolidate their position once again and re-establish their autonomous centres of local authority.

We find the income of intermediaries rising in the nineteenth century. It was through the appropriation of *khalisa* villages by the taluqdars and enlargement of their share of *nankar*, by 1850s that their income increased to almost more than double. The incidence of the rent witnessed an increase of 100 per cent after the reign of Saadat Khan (from 1814 onwards), but the increase was not uniformly distributed throughout the region. In most of the region the increase was marginal but the decline in agricultural yield and increase in price had increased the burden on the cultivators. Moreover the

ruinous impact of the *ijara* system on the cultivators throughout the nawabi period is well known.

The cultivators on the other hand had to bear the brunt of declining productivity in agriculture in the nineteenth century. The condition of the peasantry deteriorated .... to the rise in prices. The prices of commodities witnessed a continuous upward trend in the nawabi period which affected the revenue paying capacity of peasantry and gave opportunity to big landlords to enlarge their holdings at their cost.

Eighteenth century in Awadh had also witnessed growth in trade and commerce. Benaras Mirzapur, Farrukhbad, Lucknow etc. were some of the flourishing trading marts of the region. A prosperous mercantile community was seen participating in political matters and maneuvering with the rulers for privileges in trade. With the British accession of the territories, Benaras, Mirzapur and Farrukhabad were taken by the British, adversely affecting the trade and commerce in the region left with the nawabs. Previously there had been an outward trade from the region also towards Bengal, but later in the nineteenth century there was considerable decline in the exports from the region, which now received increasing flow of British commodities. This further intensified after the annexation. Consequently the urban centers and manufacturing centers witnessed decline. However, the local demand

sustained the trade and commerce on limited scale giving space for the circulation of capital of the merchants and sustenance to the manufacturers.

The economic subordination of Awadh to the British interest in the nineteenth century led to the decline in trade and commerce and of the vibrant mercantile community. The shift of the economy towards agrarian sector diverted the capital of the merchants towards the agrarian sector to invest in acquiring land. The capital of the merchants also found profit incentive in advancing loans to the *zamindars* and local landed class. We find the trading and mercantile classes having their network of collaboration and organizing against the actions of the state. *Tilism*, an Urdu weekly, records frequent organized protest and strikes by the commercial class of the urban centres.

We know of the far reaching consequences of the annexation of Awadh in 1856. *Tilism*, a weekly started soon after annexation gives useful information on indigenous perception of the people on annexation and how they viewed government's measures. Annexation created a psychological trauma not only for the courtly elites but the population in general. The new regime introduced a number of changes, for instance changes in the city plan that proposed demolition of some of the prominent buildings and mosques. This created strong resentment against the British regime. The new system of taxation was resented and resisted by the mercantile

community in the form of representation and strikes. This is represented as a total collapse of law and order. The British rule in Awadh after annexation is presented by the account as a more serious case of misgovernment than what the nawabi regime was accused of.

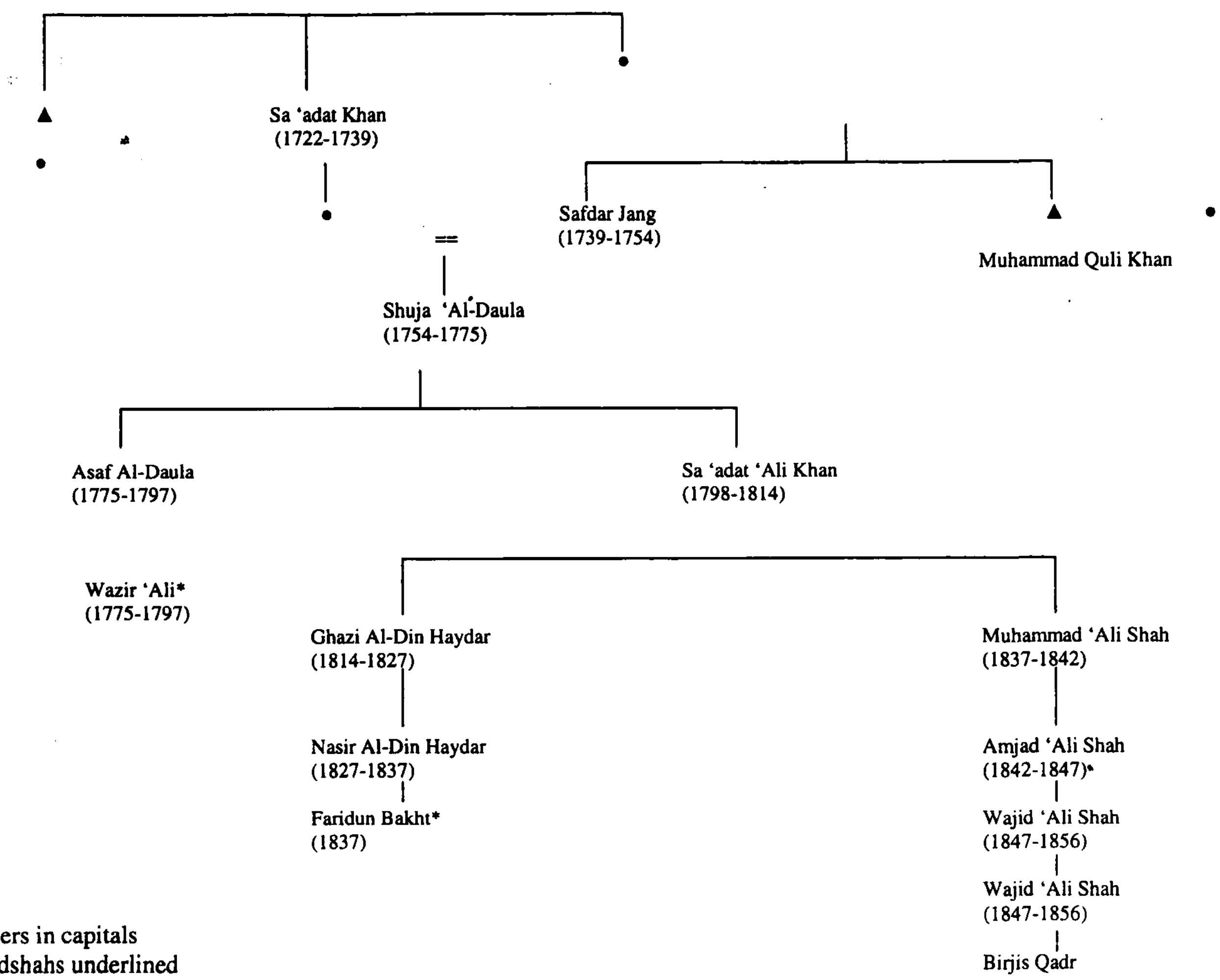
The chapter on socio-economic life of Awadh brings out the distinctive elements of Awadh culture. Awadh court appears quite inclusive of local and low class men who went together with the Awadh state's assertion on autonomy and the development of its distinctive regional identity in the formative period. There appear noticeable tensions between the traditional and new social elite but they shared a common socio-cultural and political space. It was important for the court to build up traditions of shared cultural forms and an inclusive cultural environment that wielded together the diverse sections at the court and at the same time proclaimed its specific identity vis-a- vis other provincial states, crucial also for its autonomy. The elaboration of the Shiite rituals in the formation of court culture is considered but one could see that the Shiite- Sunni conflict had been overplayed by scholars and we find considerable cultural sharing between people. In fact we also find a number of syncretic groups in the region, also among elite. There were also many aspects which the Muslim elite did not take up and considered low. Distinction of high and low culture was made and certain elite urban and courtly practices distinctly upheld. But

what was considered as aspects of low culture was still practiced by the rural Muslim elite. The high and low appear as quite fluid categories. The shifts in proprietary rights and patronage to the newer elements in the nawabi period also had bearing for the traditional elite. We find from time to time assertions of the displaced older classes; their ability to forge joint combats.

The inclusiveness of culture is also visible by the spaces provided to women. Women appear crucial in the syncretic life and integrative practices of the region. Women wielded influence not only over domestic matters but also over the public affair. Women contributed in the literary sphere as well and the *tazkiras* of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries mention quite a few female poets of those times. The spaces and patronage to women performers appear phenomenal. The high class courtesans were regarded as preservers and performers of high culture. However, the figure of the courtesan aroused considerable anxiety among the British in India. In their insistence on treating them all as prostitutes, they ignored their tremendous influence and power in society.

Appendix-A.1.

A. The Rulers of Awadh



Key:
Awadh rulers in capitals
Awadh Padshahs underlined
* indicates putative descent
Relatives mentioned in text in lower case
● and ▲ indicate relatives not mentioned in text

A.2. The Chief Ministers of Awadh

Best known Name/Title(s)	Years
Safdar Jang	c.1722-1739
Newal Ray	1739-1751
Isma'il Khan	1751-1755
Musawi Khan (?)	1755 (?)
Tamkin Khan (?)	1756 (?)
Beni Bahadur	1757-1767
Muhammad Ilich Khan	1767-1775, 1776
Sayyid Murtaza Khan	1775-1776
Hasan Riza Khan	1776-1797, 1798 (?)
Tafazzul Husayn Khan	1797-1798
Mirza Shams al-Daula	1798-1814
Sayyid Muhammad Khan, Agha Mir	1814-1827
Mir Fazl 'Ali I'timad al-Daula	1828-1830
Mahdi 'Ali Khan	1830-1832, 1837
Muhammad Husayn Khan, Roshun al-Daula	1832-1837
Ghulam Yehya Khan	1838
Ahmad 'Ali Khan	1838-1840, 1814
Amjad 'Ali Shah	1840-1842
Imdad Husayn Khan, Amin al-Daula	1842-1843, 1844-1847
'Ali Naqi Khan	1847-1856

A.3. The Residents of Awadh

Name	**Years**
N. Middleton	1773-1782[a]
J. Bristow	1775-1776
	1781-1783[a]
C. Purling	1779-1780
W. Palmer and G. Harper	1783-1785
O. Ives	1785-1794
G. Cherry	1794-1796
J. Lumsden	1796-1799
W. Scott	1799-1804
G. Ousely (acting)	1804-1806
J. Collins	1806-1807
J. Baillie	1807-1816
R. Strachy	1816-1817
F. Raper (acting)	1817-1818
	1820-1824
J. Moncton	1818-1820
P. Bradshaw	1821
M. Ricketts	1823-1829
A. Lockett	1829
T. Maddock	1829-1831
J. Paton (acting)	1831
	1838-1839
J. Low	1831-1838
	1840-1842

J. Caulfield	1839-1841
J. Shakespear (acting)	1841-1845[a]
W. Nott	1843
G. Pollock	1843-1844
T. Davidson	1845-1847
A. Richmond	1847-1848
R. Bird (acting)	1848-1849
W. Sleeman	1849-1854
Hoges (acting)	1854
J. Outram	1854-1856

a intermittently.

Appendix - B

Statement showing the price of grain at Lucknow from the year 1835 to 1870*

Year			Arhar Sers	Barley Sers	Peas Sers	Wheat Sers	Remarks
1835	...	...	37	30	26½	25	
1836	...	...	23½	26½	22½	18½	
1837	...	...	25½	22½	23½	17½	
1838	...	...	25½	29½	23½	17	
1839	...	...	24½	26½	22½	19	
1840	...	...	27	25½	25½	20½	
1841	...	...	24½	25½	23½	21	
1842	...	...	32	32½	29½	25½	
1843	...	...	30	34	31½	23½	
1844	...	...	25½	34½	23½	20½	
1845	...	...	26½	31½	24½	21½	
1846	...	...	27½	28½	24½	21½	
1847	...	...	25½	44½	29½	26½	
1848	...	...	28½	33	25½	22½	
1849	...	...	31	34	30½	24½	
1850	...	...	38	34½	37½	26½	
1851	...	...	27½	27½	3417½	27	
1852	...	...	41	59	47½	25	
1853	...	...	42½	32½	41	21	
1854	...	...	35	46	34	27½	

* Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh, Delhi, 1877-8, Vol. II, pp. 326-27.

1855	...	...	30	44½	29½	28	
1856	...	...	29½	28	29½	20½	
1857	...	...	24½	27	21½	16½	
1858	...	...	29½	26½	27½	21½	
1859	...	...	29½	29½	27½	21½	
1860	...	...	42½	40½	31½	28	
1861	...	...	28½	29	28½	21½	
1862	...	...	49½	48½	47	32½	
1863	...	...	34½	37	33½	21	
1864	...	...	29	29½	29½	20	
1865	...	...	13½	17½	16	13½	
1866	...	...	16½	20	19½	13½	
1867	...	...	24	30	31	21½	
1868	...	...	41½	40½	45½	20½	
1869	...	...	26	25½	24½	12½	
1870	...	...	17½	16½	14½	14½	

Appendix-C

Price Current of the Madhoganj Bazar from the year 1835 A.D. to the year 1870 A.D., district Hardoi*

1		2			3			4			5			6				7		8			9			10			11			12
		Wheat			Barley			Gram			Bajra			Linseed				Arhar		Black Dhan			White Dhan			Cotton			Gur			Remarks
Year		M	S	C	M	S	C	M	S	C	M	S	C	M	S	C	M	S	C	M	S	C	M	S	C	M	S	C	M	S	C	
1855	..	0	33	8	1	2	8	0	32	0	0	39	0	0	28	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	35	0	0	1	10	0	20	0	
1836	..	0	25	0	0	28	0	0	34	0	0	33	0	0	35	0	0	34	0	0	31	0	0	31	0	0	4	0	0	21	0	
1837	..	0	15	0	0	18	4	0	16	0	0	17	0	0	21	0	0	20	0	0	28	0	0	24	0	0	4	4	0	15	0	
1838	..	0	20	0	0	21	8	0	21	8	0	23	0	0	20	0	0	28	0	0	30	0	0	25	0	0	3	2	0	14	0	
1839	..	0	27	8	0	37	8	0	29	0	0	32	8	0	19	0	0	37	0	1	0	0	0	35	8	0	2	13	0	11	0	
1840	..	0	26	0	0	32	8	0	27	12	0	31	4	0	16	0	0	35	0	0	34	0	0	32	0	0	3	0	0	18	8	
1841	..	0	25	8	0	31	0	0	28	0	0	29	8	0	24	4	0	33	0	0	32	0	0	80	0	0	3	2	0	15	0	
1842	..	0	29	0	0	36	12	0	28	8	0	31	0	0	23	0	0	34	8	0	32	0	0	34	8	0	3	5	0	18	0	
1843	..	0	30	0	0	34	0	0	30	8	0	33	8	0	35	0	0	35	0	0	34	0	0	37	8	0	3	6	0	16	0	
1844	..	0	21	0	0	31	0	0	20	0	0	31	4	0	25	0	0	33	0	0	35	0	0	32	0	0	4	2	0	15	0	
1845	..	0	30	0	0	37	8	0	35	0	0	31	0	0	26	12	0	35	0	0	37	8	0	35	0	0	4	8	0	16	0	
1846	..	0	32	0	1	10	0	1	5	0	1	4	0	0	30	0	1	10	0	1	5	0	1	2	8	0	4	8	0	17	8	
1847	..	0	33	8	1	6	4	1	0	0	1	15	0	0	29	0	1	5	0	1	0	0	0	35	0	0	4	8	0	17	4	
1848	..	1	0	0	1	12	0	1	10	0	1	30	0	1	15	0	0	30	0	1	10	0	1	5	0	0	3	4	0	19	0	
1849	..	1	1	4	1	32	8	1	7	8	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	30	0	1	25	0	1	20	0	0	4	2	0	15	0	
1850	.	0	39	0	1	27	8	1	5	0	0	38	0	1	5	0	1	6	8	1	10	0	1	5	0	0	4	0	0	20	0	
1851	..	1	6	4	2	7	8	2	0	0	1	20	0	1	5	0	2	5	0	1	30	0	1	20	0	0	4	10	0	21	0	
1852	..	0	37	0	1	20	0	1	5	0	1	0	0	0	35	0	1	20	0	1	5	0	1	0	0	0	4	12	0	25	0	

* Gazetteer of the Province of Oudh 1877-8, Delhi Vol. II P. 22.

1853	..	0	32	0	1	4	0	0	37	0	0	35	0	0	33	0	1	5	0	1	0	0	0	37	8	0	4	8	0	18	0	
1854	..	0	35	0	1	7	8	1	1	4	0	30	8	0	25	0	1	7	8	1	2	0	0	38	0	0	4	8	0	18	0	
1855	..	1	7	8	1	20	0	1	30	8	1	10	0	0	24	0	1	30	0	1	5	0	1	3	0	0	5	0	0	18	0	
1856	..	0	37	8	1	30	0	1	7	8	1	5	0	0	23	8	1	15	0	1	19	0	1	5	0	0	5	8	0	18	0	
1857	..	0	26	0	0	36	0	0	32	0	0	30	0	0	20	0	0	35	0	0	37	8	0	31	0	0	3	0	0	18	4	
1858	..	0	30	0	1	0	0	0	25	0	0	33	0	0	25	0	0	34	0	1	0	0	0	35	0	0	4	12	0	21	0	
1859	..	0	33	0	1	5	0	0	36	0	0	30	0	0	24	0	1	0	0	0	30	0	0	38	0	0	4	8	0	19	0	
1860	..	0	25	8	0	38	0	0	25	0	0	34	0	0	20	0	0	30	0	0	28	8	0	26	8	0	4	0	0	15	0	
1861	..	0	20	0	0	26	0	0	23	0	0	38	0	0	18	9	0	25	0	1	0	0	0	35	0	0	3	12	0	14	4	
1862	..	0	35	0	1	15	0	1	0	0	1	5	0	0	25	0	1	19	0	1	10	0	1	5	0	0	3	0	0	15	0	
1863	..	1	0	0	1	29	0	1	7	8	0	30	0	0	24	0	0	35	0	1	10	0	0	13	8	0	4	4	0	17	0	
1864	..	0	28	0	1	0	0	0	35	0	0	25	0	0	25	8	0	37	8	1	10	0	1	5	0	0	4	8	0	16	0	
1865	..	0	25	0	0	32	0	0	25	8	0	22	0	0	21	4	0	28	0	1	0	0	0	37	8	0	3	4	0	14	0	
1866	..	0	26	0	0	31	0	0	26	8	0	21	0	0	20	0	0	24	0	0	39	0	0	36	4	0	3	2	0	14	12	
1867	..	0	22	8	0	29	0	0	27	4	0	25	0	0	20	0	0	30	0	1	2	0	0	36	0	0	2	8	0	13	4	
1868	..	0	26	0	1	5	0	1	0	0	0	27	0	0	17	4	0	35	0	1	5	0	1	0	0	0	2	10	0	12	8	
1869	..	0	17	0	0	21	0	0	20	0	0	22	0	0	16	0	0	27	0	0	30	0	0	28	0	0	2	0	0	11	0	
1870	..	0	19	8	0	28	0	0	23	0	0	29	0	0	17	0	0	30	0	1	0	0	0	35	0	0	2	10	0	15	0	

Appendix: D[1]

Ilaqa	*Jama* of 1188 Fasli (Rs.)	*Jama* of 1199 Fasli (Rs.)	Increase (Rs.)	Decrease (Rs.)
Shahrah, Itawah and Korah, ilaqa of Almas Ali Khan	93, 17, 000	64, 04, 300		29, 12, 700
Chakla Bareli	65, 70, 000	35, 00, 000		30, 70, 000
Bahraich, Gonda, and Gorakhpur	16, 22, 000	10, 00, 000		6, 22, 000
Sarkar Khairabad	11, 64,000	13, 80, 124	2, 16, 124	
Sultanpur	6, 13, 000	5, 35, 000		78, 000
Allahabad	9, 94, 000	8, 15, 000		1, 79, 000
Azamgarh and Mahal	8, 66, 000	7, 00, 000		1. 66, 000
Partabgarh and Ahmeti	13, 40, 000	6, 18, 000		7, 22, 000
Sandila and Malihabad with Hardoi	5, 98, 300	5, 38, 645		59, 655

[1] " The revenue of the country is shown in the following schedule. In it the revenue of the year 1199 Fasli, the middle of Haidar Beg's administration, has been selected, and the increase or decrease as compared with 1188 Fasli, the last year of the late nawab, has also been entered. The estates which are 'huzur tahsil', the confiscated jagirs, and the 'sayar' items of revenue, amounting to in all about twenty lakhs of rupees, are not included. If the demand had been paid up in full, the jama' of 1188 Fasli would have been three karors". Abu Talib, *Tafzihu'l Ghafilin*, tr. W Hoey, *History of Asaau'd Daulah Nawab Wazir of Oudh*, pp. 79-80.

Akbarpur Dostpur	4, 45, 000	4, 15, 000		30, 000
Awadh and Daryabad and Rudauli	13, 82, 000	11, 31, 815		2, 50, 185
Manikpur Bahar	1, 81, 000	1, 60, 000		21, 000
Baiswara, Bareli, and Dalamau	18, 45, 000	13, 65, 000		4, 79, 697
Talluqa Muhamdi	2, 29, 000	2, 00, 000		29, 000
Khairagarh	2, 10, 000	2, 00, 000		10, 000
Tandah	4, 70, 000	8, 13, 76	3, 43, 76	
Haveli Lucknow	1, 62, 000	72, 000		90, 000
Silak and Salon	5, 90, 000	2, 50, 000		3, 40, 000
Total	2,85,98,300	2,00,98,263	5,59,200	90,59,237

Appendix : E[2]

Serial no.	Name of *chakla*	No. of *mahal*	Yearly *jama* in Rs.
1.	Gonda	15	14, 78, 500
2.	Bainwara	23	32, 05, 000
3.	Bangar	9	7, 32, 000
4.	Pachchimrath	4	4, 52, 700
5.	Jagdispur	3	2, 25, 000
6.	Khairabad	33	22, 49, 500
7.	Dewa & Satrikh etc.	9	6, 31, 000
8.	Daryabad etc.	9	5, 57, 000
9.	Ram Nagar	3	5, 74, 000
10.	Mahmudi	18	6, 95, 500
11.	Sandila, Rasulabadand Safipur	11	15, 65, 000
12.	Sultanpur	29	20, 00, 000
13.	Goshainganj	4	3, 25, 000
14.	Manikpur Bihar	2	2, 12, 900
15.	*Huzur Tahsil*		3, 43, 000
16.	Safdar Jang's possession in Delhi		12, 000
17.	Possession of Saadat Khan purchased in Benaras		12, 000
		Total	1, 52, 61, 100

2 Najmul Ghani, *Tarikh I Awadh*, vol. IV, pp. 67a-67b. Revenue details belong to the later years of Sadaat Khan's rule.

Appendix : F[3]

Division	District	Assessment during Sultanat (Nawabi) Rs.	British new assessment Rs.	British assessment of *Mafi* Rs.	New Brtish *Jama* of religious, *mafi*, and *khairat* land Rs.	No. of *talluqa* and assessment of *jama*	
						No.	*Jama* Rs.
Lucknow	Lucknow Main	9, 98, 681	9, 21, 087	1, 71, 389	11. 336	57	3. 07, 634
	Daryabad	13, 68, 726	9, 97, 335	27, 727	18, 881	69	5, 30, 349
	Oonao	11, 15, 364	11, 23,798	17, 663	4,449	44	3. 17, 205
Fyzabad	Sultanpur	11, 61, 957	9, 57, 460 (?)	68, 233	12, 563	27	5. 19, 989
	Fyzabad Main	11, 10, 394	11, 37,397	39, 229	6. 303	28	7. 61, 814
	Partabgarh	12, 43, 606 (?)	11, 37,940	56, 250 (?)	16, 577	34	10, 39,724
Khairabad	Hardoi	14, 61, 361	11, 96,564	27, 394	3, 141	64	4, 77, 128 (?)
	Sita Mau	3, 58, 575	9, 41,987	31, 560	3, 280	171	7. 17, 345
	Lakhimpur	5, 00, 000	4, 21, 160			72	1. 15, 617
Bahraich	Bahraich Main	8, 58, 951	5, 89, 616	19, 317	3, 661	42	5. 68, 539
	Gonad	11, 77, 879 (?)	9, 47, 350	10, 160	19, 395	52	5, 50, 070
	Mulaanwan	3, 63, 330	2, 57, 380	90, 250	1, 800	36	2. 90, 060

3 Table was prepared by the author with the help of the *Tarikh I Awadh* of Hat Prashad who was the news writer of Sleeman. Najmul Ghani, *Tarikh I Awadh*, vol. V, pp. 289-90.

Appendix: G

The list of past collection (pre annexation) handed over by Raja Balkrishna to the Chief Commissioner of Awadh after annexation[4].

Serial no.	*Chakla*	*Pargana*	*Jama* (Rs.)
1.	Bari Biswan	11	2, 64, 952
2.	Sandila Bangar Mau	10	7, 10, 113
3.	Shahabad	0	64, 732
4.	Mahmudi	12	2, 20, 822
5.	Khairabad	22	8, 30, 920
6.	Saron Barkwan	0	41, 332
7.	Rampur Kalan	0	84, 323
8.	Mahmudabad	0	1, 15, 153
9.	Dew Palia	0	13, 440
10.	Sandi Pali	0	2, 64, 300
11.	Bharwa etc.	0	30, 170
12.	Dohaharhara	0	45, 479
13.	Srinaguwel	0	33, 373 (?)
14.	Karw Khera	0	22, 357
15.	Nirpat Singh	0	21, 311
16.	Kachaura	0	11, 320
17.	Lalawari	0	436
18.	Ali Maratib Gargh	0	343
19.	Bhawani Parshad	0	859
20.	Amir Ali Daribaha	0	453

[4] Kamal-ud-Din Haider, vol. II, pp. 144-149.

21.	Puran Chand Badoh	0	1, 829
22.	Khirigarh Kanchanpur	0	19, 700
23.	Matraiya	0	1, 249
24.	Rasoolpur	0	1, 333
25.	Budhi etc.	0	2, 311
26.	Shahpur	0	5, 335
27.	Matauli	0	93, 527 (?)
28.	Muhammadpur Bekarha	0	383
29.	Algawan	0	2, 550
30.	Matadin *siar* mahamudi	0	15, 445
31.	Raja Parah	0	5, 349
32.	Pabrasin	0	516
33.	Bangar Nagram etc.	0	2, 81, 074
34.	Atwa Parwa	0	11, 850
35.	Nasf Sringar	0	30, 549
		Total	32, 49, 188

Lucknow Khas:

1.	Haider Garh	7	2, 29, 143
2.	Sidhaur	3	1, 50, 579
3.	Hadia Barwa	7	3, 68, 416
4.	Daryabad Rudauli	10	3, 75, 525
5.	Dewa etc.	5	96, 293
6.	Baddu Sarai	1	19, 320
7.	Rasulabad	2	2, 98, 274

8.	Dehat Lucknow	0	1, 02, 856
9.	Garsahai Ganj	3	1, 02, 776
10.	Barol Bagh etc.	0	40, 476
11.	Ramnagar dhamandi	0	1, 57, 367 (?)
12.	Salimpur alias Mansoor Ali	0	6, 399 (?)
13.	Hardoi	30	55, 227
14.	Safipur etc.	4	2, 86, 240
15.	Daundia Khera	6	1, 36, 013
16.	Sarauli	0	23, 789
17.	Bhojpur Muradpur Mau	0	37, 932
18.	Fatahpur Chaurasi	0	27, 140
19.	Bahu Kauria	0	22, 408
20.	Fatahpur Jaswah	0	10, 918
21.	Sambar Bahar	0	42, 533
22.	Jagdishpur	0	40, 598
23.	Sandi	0	21, 758
24.	Samri	0	52, 123
25.	Tauli	0	3, 909
26.	Patti Balia	0	144
27.	Adiba	0	934
28.	Mohiuddinpur	0	43, 007
29.	Jamli	0	21, 214
30.	Tatri	0	95, 208
31.	Baks	0	4, 482
		Total	28, 73, 001

Bahraich *sadr* :

1.	Gonda Bahraich	0	4, 82, 991
2.	Bahraich	0	1, 29, 596
3.	Imlia	0	429
4.	Bundi	0	95, 014
5.	Dhunarpur	0	551
6.	Tulsipur	0	820
7.	Parsanpur	0	28, 810
8.	Hisampur	0	45, 016
9.	Dahna Luan	0	26, 344
10.	Ekona	0	1, 20, 914
11.	Colonel Ganj	0	12, 585
12.	Eta	0	10, 810
13.	*Khalsa* Bahraich	0	3, 107
14.	Fakharpur Kharpur	0	13, 400
15.	*Sir* etc.	0	28, 314
16.	Bhurganj	0	11, 717
17.	Kausar Aks	0	1, 47, 251
18.	Sukha Chand	0	2, 03, 314
19.	Jungle	0	104
		Total	13, 61, 088

Fyzabad :

1.	Dalmau Baraily	6	2, 47, 043
2.	Salon	11	6, 91, 343
3.	Sultanpur	23	16, 71, 200
4.	Jiya Mau	0	1, 588
5.	Son	0	29, 218
6.	Kao Gain	0	246
7.	*Siri* Fyzabad	0	26, 484
8.	Shah Mau	0	35, 305
9.	Khaspur Bandah	0	9, 018
10.	Samrathpur	0	16, 036
11.	Khatauli	0	163
12.	Chandauki	0	923
13.	Dostpur	0	363
14.	Mamapur Sanya	0	421
15.	Budi Bankar	0	6, 136
16.	Dalwi	0	770
17.	Jamalpur	0	320
18.	Thowar Khera	0	1, 320
19.	Jat Mau	0	4, 821
20.	Patti Ekram Ashraf	0	270
		Total	27, 42, 988
	Grand Total		1, 02, 26, 265

ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations are arranged alphabetically. The number given against each abbreviation indicates the serial number in the bibliography.

	S. No.
Agrarian System	93
'Agrarian Uprising' in *Themes in Indian History*	105
Barnett	111
Bayly	82
Bengal and Agra Gazetteer	59
Butt, *Report of Lucknow*	52
Butter	67
CEHI	122
Chronicles of Oonao	66
Clash of Culture	103
CPC	40
Forbes, *Report of Partabgarh*	64
General Report	49
Haft Tamasha	12
Imad-us-Saadat	18
Indrani Sen	90
Jafri	116
Kamal-ud-Din Haider	10
M Alam	106
Macandrew, *Report of Rai Bareli*	54
Marshal	108
Meer Hasan	73
Metcalf	121

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The bibliography is divided into two sections. The first section consists of the source material – the documents and the books arranged subject-wise. The second section consists of secondary sources. All the texts within the sections are arranged alphabetically. A number of books and articles studied but not referred in the text is included in the list as these had discussed aspects relating to the present study.

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